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Foreword

To know my country in truth
one has to travel to that age
when she realised her soul, and
thus transcended her physical boundaries;
when she revealed her being in a radiant
magnanimity which illumined the eastern
horizon making her recognized as their own
by those in alien shores who were awakened into
a great surprise of life; and not now when she
has withdrawn herself within a narrow barrier
of obscurity, into a miserly pride of exclusiveness...
into a poverty of mind that dumbly revolves round
itself in an unmeaning repetition of a past that
has lost its light and has no message to the
pilgrims of the future.

Rabindranath Tagore

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THE
JOURNAL
OF THE
GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

VOL. I

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No. 1

**Indian Influence on Western Thought before
and during the Third Century A.D.***

By Dr. Jean Przyluski

When did Indian philosophy first make its influence felt upon Western thought? Was there a direct influence at a time when ancient philosophers were incapable of understanding the Upanishads and other Indian treatises? To this question one is at first tempted to give a negative answer. It should, however, be remembered that a philosophic doctrine is not only transmitted by formal precept; it may also be communicated by example. Words may be completed, may even be superseded by actions.

We know that from the time of the expedition of Alexander, the Greeks were deeply impressed by the impassibility of Indian ascetics. From this epoch mention is made in moral treatises of the gymnosophist Calanos who refused to accompany Alexander into Egypt and voluntarily ascended the funeral pile. It has been maintained, probably with reason, that Pyrrho, head of the Sceptics in the 3rd century B.C. chose as his ideal the imitation of this indifference imperturbable even in presence of death. "The

* Translated by May Waddington.

gymnosophist taught him," writes Victor Brochard, "in a better way than by means of agreements and disputations, the vanity of human things. We have here no mere surmise. Diogenes tells us that if he sought solitude and if he laboured to become a good man, it is because he had never forgotten the words of the Indian who reproached Anaxarchos with being incapable of teaching others to be virtuous and frequenting too assiduously the palace of the kings." (*Les sceptiques grecs*, pp. 74-75). A few exhortations, the spectacle of death endured with calmness, are enough for the orientation of unsatisfied spirits.

Ancient Greek literary works on India have almost entirely disappeared and the fragments which have been preserved give unfortunately a very incomplete idea of this literature.

From the commencement of the Augustan Age, continuous relations were established between India and the Roman world; commerce was on the increase and the Indian kings sent embassies to Rome, the most famous of which were those sent to Augustus and to the Emperor Heliogabalus. The coming of this first embassy is a date in the history of ideas.

Dion Cassius relates that along with an embassy of the Indian king Pandion (or Porus), bearing presents for Augustus, there came to Greece an ascetic Zarmaros or Zarmanochegas¹ of Bargoza (Barygaza). Having been initiated at Eleusis, he straightway ascended the funeral pile alive.

"Accordingly one of the Indians, Zarmaros, either because he was of the breed of Sophists, or because of a desire to make a display of himself before both Augustus and the Athenians, came there and having determined to die, he was initiated into the mysteries of the gods, and gave himself alive to the flames...."

This text allows us to assign the death of the Indian ascetic to the year 20. The passage may be completed by the following from Nicolas of Damascus.

1 Of the two variants, Zarmaros or Zarmanos, the second is probably to be preferred, as it corresponds to the Indian word *Sramana*.

At the sanctuary of Daphne near Antioch on the Orontes, Nicolas of Damascus had met, he says, the Indian embassy that had been sent to Augustus. It was then before the initiation, on the way to Samos and Eleusis. Nicolas of Damascus adds as a comment on the impressive suicide: "There are men who act in this manner when their affairs cause anxiety, for they seek to escape from the present, but others so act when in full prosperity as this person has given evidence. For, while all had, by common consent, gone well with him, up to that time, he himself decided to end his life, fearing that if his life were prolonged, some unforeseen disaster might befall him, and what is more, it was with a smile on his lips, naked and anointed, that he ascended the funeral pile. And it is inscribed on his tomb: "Here lies Zarmaros Chegana, an Indian of Bargoza, who according to the national customs of the Indies, made himself immortal."

M. P. Graindor is of opinion that the suicide of the ascetic is explained by "the love of noisy publicity which he shared with the Sophists." (*Athènes sous Auguste*, pp. 20-22, 92-93). More recently M. Picard has supposed that the *Śramaṇa* had revived a tradition that may be traced back to Croesus and Evadne. (R. H. R. mars-juin, 1933, p. 144). It is difficult to believe that the Indian ascetic could have been inspired by an ancient Greek tradition. He acted rather, as his epitaph says, "according to the national customs of the Indies," not from "love of noisy publicity," but rather in order to make an impression on Augustus and the Athenian people. Nothing indicates that the ascetic, at the cost of his life, wished to acquire a useless reputation. It is more probable that he acted from a motive of edification, to show to all the people, on a solemn occasion, that philosophy leads to perfect detachment and that this detachment was taught by sages of his country. •

The lesson was not lost. During the first centuries of our era, the prestige of Oriental wisdom was enhanced in the eyes of the Greeks. Diogenes Laertes writes in the

preface of his *Lives of the Philosophers*: "It is said that philosophy originated among the Barbarians."

"In the age of romanticism, when Plotinus lived, barbarism was in fashion, just as the man of nature in the 18th century and the Middle Ages in the 19th century. There is no tract on popular morals which does not give, as an example, the Indian gymnosophist. Notices about the Brāhmaṇas are frequent from the time of Strabo. The legendary adventures of Apollonius of Tyana were in part assigned to India."¹

"Plotinus himself, who has exercised a very profound and enduring influence on Indian thought, seems to have borrowed from India a portion of his ideas."

It was in 1922 that Emile Bréhier raised the question as to the origin of the ideas of Plotinus.² "It is not enough," he wrote, "to speak in general terms of the current of mysticism which already for two centuries had been penetrating into the Graeco-Roman world. The mysticism of Plotinus has really a character of its own which distinguishes it radically from that of all the Oriental religions that were in vogue at that time.....In general the system of Plotinus is distinguished from all other philosophic systems and from all the religions of its age by the almost complete absence of the idea of a mediator or of a saviour destined to bring man into relationship with God....It is the soul herself, that in her progress becomes the Intelligence and having reached the end of her journey, is no longer separated from the One.... So we find at the very centre of the thought of Plotinus an alien element, one which defies classification. The theory of the intelligence as a universal being resembles

1 E. Bréhier (Introduction à la traduction des *Ennéades* de Plotin, pp. v-vi.

2 In 1857 Chr. Lassen (*Indische Alterthumskunde*, III, pp. 415-439) has already conjectured the influence of Indian thought upon Plotinus. Deussen in his *History of Philosophy*, tome II, part I, p. 485, notes "the remarkable agreement between Neo-Platonic and Indian ideas." Nevertheless he does not admit an historic filiation, but only what he calls "an internal affinity."

neither Greek rationalism nor the popular piety of contemporary religious circles. In my quest for the source of the philosophy of Plotinus, I am compelled to look beyond the Orient adjacent to Greece, to the religious speculations of India, which at the epoch of Plotinus were established and had been for centuries in the Upanishads and had retained all their vitality". (*Revue des Cours et Conférences*, 15 mai, 1922, p. 294 ff., reprinted in "*La Philosophie de Plotin*, 1928, p. 113 seq.).

These ideas which formerly seemed daring are invested to-day with a new authority in consequence of the discovery in Egypt of Manichean documents which throw light on the development of religious thought in the first century of the Christian era. Fellah of Medînet Mâdi in the Fayoum found, in the ruins of a house, a worm-eaten coffer. This chest which must have belonged to some member of the Manichean clergy, contained a large number of pages, glued together and partially destroyed by dampness. M. Carl Schmidt was able to discern the value of these papyrus of which he acquired the greater part for the Museum of Berlin. The rest are the property of an English bibliophile, Mr. Chester Beatty.

An article by M. Carl Schmidt and M. H. J. Polotsky which appeared in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Academy of Berlin, allows us to estimate the importance of this discovery. Seven works have been restored, comprising no less than 2000 pages. Two of these are the writings of Mani himself; the others have been compiled by disciples of the first or second generation. The two books of which Mani is the author are a "capitulary" and a collection of letters. The former gives very definite information about the life of the reformer. Mani lived in the reign of Ardashir I (224-241), the first Sassanid king. Even in his adolescence he received his divine mission: "The living Paraclete descended on me and spoke to me." This revelation enabled him to understand the mysteries of the strife between light and darkness, of the creation, of the destiny of man.

The zèal of the innovator seems to have disturbed the monarch. Mani deemed it prudent to leave. "In the last year of King Ardashir," he writes, "I crossed in a ship over to the country of the Indians and I preached to them the Hope of Life." As soon as Ardashir had died and his son Sapor I had ascended the throne (241 A.D.), Mani returned by sea from India to Persia, from whence he came to Babylonia, Mesena and Khouzistan. He then presented himself to the new monarch who was impressed by his words and kept him near his person.

M. Fr. Cumont, who relates these facts in the *Revue de l' Histoire des Religions*, comments on them in these terms: "These well attested facts throw new light on the relation of Mani with Mazdeism, the State religion, which he pretended to reform, and also on his connection with Buddhist India. No longer may we doubt that the founder of a strictly ascetic cult had a direct knowledge of the Hindu doctrine of renunciation." (*La bibliothèque d' un manichéen*, R. H. R., mars-juin, 1933, p. 185).

When applied to the study of the life of Plotinus, these new facts may contribute to an explication of the genesis of his doctrine. He was born in Lycopolis in Egypt. His vocation for philosophy was manifested at 28 years of age, the first time that he attended at Alexandria the course of the Platonist Ammonius. "From that day," says Porphyry, "he frequented Ammonius. He arrived at such a deep understanding of philosophy that he sought to gain a direct knowledge of this philosophy practised among the Persians and held in honour among the Indians. The Emperor Gordian was then about to go to Persia. Plotinus presented himself at his camp and he accompanied the army. He was then in his thirty-ninth year: for he had followed the courses of Ammonius for eleven whole years." (*Vie de Plotin*, trans. E. Bréhier, *Ennéades* I, p. 3).

It was then at thirty-nine years of age, that is to say in 242, that Plotinus left suddenly the school of Ammonius and his friends and joined the Emperor Gordian who was preparing to cross to Persia. His intention was to gain a direct

knowledge of the philosophy of the Persians and Indians. What was the origin of this determination? Eleven years before, he had been attracted to the study of philosophy by the words of Ammonius. What new experience has sent him far from his country, his fellow disciples and his master? At this point a comparison of dates seems imperative. In 241 Mani returned by sea from India into Persia, presented himself to Sapor I and became an attendant of the king. No longer an obscure agitator, for his fame had been increased by his journey and by the favour of the new monarch, he became an official reformer. From that time he proclaims his will to teach a Catholic religion. In the epistles, he appears as "the director of a vast enterprise of conversion which should extend to Iran as well as to the Roman world." (Fr. Cumont, *ibid.*, p. 186.) At that epoch the merchants of Alexandria were the natural intermediaries between Rome and the Orient. The Manichean propaganda had to reach Egypt before arriving at Rome. Plotinus who had extensive relations among the commercial classes as well as among the philosophers, was probably one of the first to become acquainted with the wanderings and ideas of Mani. The best way to become an initiate in the philosophy of both the Persians and the Indians was by meeting Mani. Rumours of war were current. The Roman army was preparing to attack Sapor I. It was convenient for Plotinus to enter Persia with these troops who had been so often victorious.

In this way the agreement of dates allows us to think that the spiritual crisis of Plotinus in 242 was caused by the Manichean propaganda. He had learned of the birth of a new religion inspired, to some extent, by Indian asceticism. Plotinus, whose deepest aspirations are satisfied by this discipline, desires to be informed and he withdraws from his friends. In spite of the defeat of the Roman army, he did not return to Egypt, but in 243 established himself at Rome.

Later the philosopher dreams of founding in Campania a city of sages where he might retire with his disciples. As has

been well said by Emile Bréhier, we must see in this project more than the survival of the ideas of Plato. "The Platonic city has become a convent; it is probably the best and most diverting illustration of the difference between Platonism and Neo-Platonism." (*Ennéades* I, p. xi.) This new ideal is made clear if a Buddhist factor is introduced into the development of the Platonic doctrine.

In the same order of ideas, Fr. Cumont makes this penetrating observation: "We know now that the Manichean doctrine, steeped in Hindu asceticism, was propagated in the Thebaid exactly at the time of the birth there of Christian monasticism. The idea is irresistible that its exaltation of renunciation acted in some way on the development of this spiritual movement, which drew so many anchorites into the solitary places of that country." (R.H.R., *ibid.*, p. 189, n. 1.)

It may be objected that the doctrine of Mani had taken a definite form before his journey to India, since he declares that even in his youth the Paraclete had revealed to him the mysteries of the strife between light and darkness, etc. But these mysteries are the strictly Iranian part, the dualistic basis of Manichæanism. Later Mani made an effort to create a universal religion in combining the Iranian dogma with elements borrowed from other religions. He himself tells us of his project in these terms: "The Scriptures and the Wisdom and the Apocalypses and the Parables and the Psalms of all the earlier Churches have been collected and have been joined to my Church and added to the Wisdom which I have revealed. As a stream of water mingles with another stream and is thereby increased, so the other books have been added to my writings and have become a great wisdom such as has not been announced to any one of the ancient generations.

"The Hope which I bring will go towards the West and towards the East and one will hear the voice of the announcement in all languages and it will be preached in every city. My Church is superior to all earlier churches, because these churches were received in certain places

and in certain cities, but my message will reach every country."

From this composite mass which is Manichæanism, the luminous spirit of Plotinus was able to separate, in order to reject them, the dualistic tenets and to retain only the mysticism, peculiarly Indian. This may be condensed in a small number of formulas; but these formulas are without significance except for him who is prepared to grasp them. Plotinus, in 242, although thirty-nine years of age, was still waiting for a liberating power which should make him the creator of a new philosophy.

We may now perceive the inter-relation of facts. Indian ascetics conceived an ideal of renunciation of the world and of complete indifference: man is an autonomous power; he is capable of self-deliverance by raising himself to the divine plane without the aid of the gods or of a mediator. The Greeks had intimations of these ideas for several centuries. Megasthenes calls attention to "the ascetics of the forests who live in abstinence and chastity, and who have with the divine particular relations." There is no question here of a doctrine dialectically demonstrable, but rather of an attitude of mind which can be shown in actions as well as in words. It is probably just this ideal, imperfectly understood as it was, which gives to the philosophy of Pyrrho a character of superhuman grandeur and dignity.

Later the Indian embassy to Augustus renews the sacrifice of Calanos and also awakens, without satisfying it, the curiosity of the Greeks. By degrees the religions of the Near East invade the Roman Empire, offering to all salvation through one or many mediators between the divinity and man.

It was for Plotinus to break with these tendencies and to join together Indian mysticism and Greek wisdom. From what source did Plotinus receive this revelation? The recent discovery of writings of Mani allows us to-day to make a conjecture. In 241, after a voyage to India, the Iranian apostle assumes the role of official reformer, and begins his propaganda. The following year is marked as a turning

point in the career of Plotinus. Leaving for ever his country and his surroundings, he undertakes to go to Persia. One cannot resist the supposition that Mani had by his propaganda brought within reach of the West a certain number of Indian ideas, and that by them the eager spirit of Plotinus was suddenly illuminated.

The activity of seamen and of merchants had in the first place created economic bonds between India and the West. The conquests of the first Sassanid king mark the beginning of a new era by imposing on vast territories unity and peace. An interchange of ideas is established between the East and the West. Indian asceticism colours the dualism of Mani and the monism of Plotinus. Thanks to these two powerful spirits moral bonds were established between Rome and the distant Orient.



The Sailendra Empire

(Up to the end of the tenth century A.D.)

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar

In the eighth century A.D. most of the small states in Malayasia (comprising Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula) formed part of a mighty empire. The rulers of this vast empire, at least for the first four countries, belonged to the Śailendra dynasty, and we may, therefore, call it the Śailendra empire. The current notions about the character and origin of this empire differ very widely, and form at present a subject of keen controversy among scholars. As it touches the very root of the matter, and we shall have to reconstruct the history of Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula in altogether different ways according as we accept the one view or the other, I have discussed in detail these preliminary points in a separate article.¹ The history of the Śailendra empire, as given below is based on the views formulated therein.

Our knowledge of the early history of the Śailendras is based solely on four inscriptions. It will be convenient, therefore, to begin with a brief summary of these records.

1. The Ligor Inscription, dated 775 A.D.²

A stela, found at Ligor, in the Malay Peninsula, to the south of the Bay of Bandon, contains two inscriptions on its two faces.

The inscription A begins with eulogy of Śrī-Vijayendra-rāja and then refers to the building of three brick temples for Buddhist gods by Śrī-Vijayeśvarabhūpati. Jayanta, the royal priest (*rājasthāvira*), being ordered by the king, built three

¹ This will be shortly published in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*.

² *B.E.F.E.O.*, vol. XVIII, 6, App. I, pp. 29ff.

stūpas. After Jayanta's death, his disciple and successor Adhimukti, built two brick *caityas* by the side of the three *caityas* (built by the king). In conclusion, it is said that Śrī-Vijayanrpati, who resembled Devendra, built the *stūpas* here in Śaka 697 (*muni-nava-rasa*).

The inscription B, engraved on the back of the stelae, contains only one verse and a few letters of the second. It contains the eulogy of an emperor (*rājādhirāja*) having the name Viṣṇu (*viṣṇuvākhyo*). The last line is difficult.¹ It seems to refer to a lord of the Śailendra dynasty named Śrī-Mahārāja, and though probable, it is not absolutely certain, if this person is the same as *rājādhirāja* having the name Viṣṇu.

2. Kalasan Inscription dated 778 A.D.²

The inscription was discovered at the village of Kalasan in Jogjakarta district of Java. Its contents may be summed up as follows :—

“Adoration to Goddess Ārya-Tārā.

“The preceptors (*Guru*) of the Śailendra king had a temple of Tārā built with the help (or sanction) of Mahārāja dyāh Pancapana panamkaraṇa. At the command of the *Gurus* some officers of the king built a temple, an image of Goddess Tārā and a residence for monks proficient in Vinaya-Mahāyāna.

1 M. Coèdes reads the second word in the last line as ‘*Śailendra-Vaṃśaprabhunigadataḥ*’ which gives no sense. I proposed to read the last word in the compound as *nigaditaḥ*. But M. Coèdes has kindly informed me in a letter that there is no trace of *i* on *d*—Mus. on B.E.F.E.O., XXIX, 448 has suggested *prabha(ba)nigadadataḥ*.

2 This inscription was originally published by Brandes in 1886, *T.B.G.*, vol. 31, pp. 240-60. It was re-edited by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in *Journal of the Bo. Br.R.A.S.*, vol. XVII, part II, pp. 1-10. The last revised edition is by Bosch, *T.B.G.*, vol. 68 (1928), pp. 57ff. According to Vogel, there are two Śailendra kings referred to in this inscription, the Sumatran Śailendrarāja whose *guru* played an important part in the foundation of the Tārā temple, and *ḥariyāna* Panamkaraṇa, the scion of the Śailendra dynasty ruling in Java (*B.K.I.*, vol. 75, p. 634). Vogel has pointed out that *ḥariyāna* is equivalent to the old Javanese *raḥarayan* or *raḥuyan* used as the title of a dignified officer, next only to the king.

"In the prosperous kingdom of the ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-varṇśatilaka*), the temple of Tārā was built by the preceptors of the Śailendra king. In the Śaka year 700, Mahārāja Panaṃkaraṇa built a temple of Tārā for the worship of Guru (*gurupūjārtham*), and made a gift of the village of Kalasa to the Saṃgha. This gift should be protected by the king of the Śailendra dynasty. Śrīmān Kariyāna Panaṃkaraṇa makes this request to the future king."

3. The Kelurak Inscription dated 782 A.D.¹

The inscription was originally situated at Kelurak, to the north of Loro Jonggrang temple at Prambanan in Jogjakarta District. It is illegible in many parts and the following summary gives us the important points from the historical point of view :—

"Adoration to the three jewels (*ratnatraya*). Praises of Buddhist deities.

"This earth is being protected by the king named Indra, who is an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-varṇśatilaka*), who has conquered kings in all directions, and who has crushed the most powerful hero of the enemy (*Vairi-ucra-vīra-vimardana*).

"By him whose body has been purified by the dust of the feet of the preceptor coming from Gauḍa (*Gauḍī-dvīpa-guru*), this image of Mañjuśrī has been set up for the welfare of the world by the royal preceptor (*rājaguru*).

"In the Śaka year 704, Kumāraghosha [*i.e.*, the preceptor from Gauḍa mentioned above] set up this Mañjughosha.

"This pillar of glory, an excellent landmark of religion (*dharmasetu*), having the shape of an image of Mañjuśrī, is for the protection of all creatures.

"In this enemy of Māra (*smarārāti-nisūdana*) exist Buddha, Dharma and Saṃgha.

"This wielder of Thunder, sung as Svāmi Mañjuvāk, contains all gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara.

¹ Edited by Bosch in *T.B.G.*, vol. 68 (1928), pp. 1ff.

"I request the future kings to maintain this landmark of religion (*dharmasetu*).

"The preceptor, who has obtained the reverent hospitality (*satkāra*) of king Śrī-Saṅgrāmadhanañjaya.

4. The Nālandā copper-plate Inscription dated in the 39th year of king Devapāla.¹

This copper-plate records the grant of five villages by Devapāla at the request of the illustrious Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa (*Suvarṇadvīpādhipa-Mahārāja-Śrī-Bālaputradeva*).

The inscription concludes with a short account of Bālaputradeva which may be summed up as follows :—

"There was a great king of *Yavabhūmi* (*y°-pāla*), whose name signified 'tormentor of brave foes' (*Vīra-vairi-mathan-ūnugatā-bhidhānaḥ*) and who was an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-varṇsa-tilaka*).

"He had a valiant son (called) Samarāgravīra (or who was the foremost warrior in battle).

"His wife Tārā, daughter of king Śrī-Varmāsetu² of the lunar race, resembled the goddess Tārā.

"By this wife he had a son Śrī-Bālaputra, who built a monastery at Nālandā".

II

The Ligor Inscription B definitely proves the establishment of the Śailendra power in the Malay Peninsula. The inscription on the other face hardly leaves any doubt that the Śailendra must have wrested at least the Ligor region from the hands of Śrī-Vijaya sometime after 775 A.D. The Kalasan and Kelurak inscriptions prove that about the same time the Śailendras established their authority in Java.

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 310. The inscription was also published separately by Mr. N. G. Majumdar as a memoir of the Varendra Research Society.

2 Pandit H. Śāstrī reads this name as *Dharmasetu*, but Mr. N. G. Majumdar's reading *varmasetu* seems to me beyond doubt.

Thus during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. the petty Hindu kingdoms of Sumatra, Java and Malay Peninsula had all to succumb to or feel the weight of this new power. The Śailendras ushered in a new epoch in more senses than one. For the first time in history Malayasia, or the greater part of it, constituted a political entity as integral parts of an empire, and we shall see later on, how it shortly rose to a height of glory and splendour unknown before. But the Śailendras did more than this. They introduced a new type of culture. The new vigour of Mahāyāna form of Buddhism which resulted in such splendid monuments as Candi Kalasan and Borobudur in Java may be mainly attributed to their patronage. The introduction of a new kind of alphabet which has been called the Pre-Nāgari script, and the adoption of a new name Kālīṅga for Malayasia, at least by the foreigners, may also be traced to the same source.

Yet, strangely enough, we have as yet no definite knowledge of the chief seat of authority of the Śailendras in Malayasia. It is generally held that they were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya (Palembang in Sumatra) and extended their authority gradually over Java and Malay Peninsula. I have discussed this question in the article referred to above, and tried to show how the hypothesis rests on a very weak basis. I hold the view that there are far better grounds for the belief that the original seat of authority of the Śailendras was either in Java or in Malay Peninsula. For the present the question must be left open.

But supposing that either Śrī-Vijaya or Malay Peninsula was the nucleus of the Śailendra empire, the question arises whether Java was an integral part of the empire ruled over by the same king, or whether it formed a separate, though subordinate, kingdom under a member of the same royal dynasty. The first view would in ordinary circumstances appear more reasonable. But two considerations have been urged in support of the latter view. In the first place, as we shall see later on, the Śailendra period in the history of Java was the most glorious in respect of the development

of art and architecture, which reached its climax in the famous monument of Borobudur. Now, neither Sumatra nor the Malay Peninsula has left any monument worth the name, and although the destructive agencies of time and nature may account for much, it is impossible to believe that mighty monuments like Borobudur could have entirely vanished without leaving any trace or memory behind. It is difficult to believe, although such a thing may not be altogether impossible, that an outlying dependency of such a kingdom should produce so magnificent structures. In the second place, in the Nālandā copperplate of Devapāla, reference is made to Bālaputradeva, the king of Suvarṇadvīpa, but his grand father is expressly referred 'to as a king of Yavabhūmi, an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty. If Yavabhūmi means Java, as is commonly accepted, the reference should be taken to mean that Java formed a separate state under a member of the same dynasty. Mainly on these two grounds Krom has laid down the hypothesis that while Java no doubt came under the sphere of influence of Śrī-Vijaya, sooner or later it came to form a separate State under a member of the same dynasty which ruled over Śrī-Vijaya.¹

I am unable to concur in this view. As regards the first, the argument is not so forcible against Malay Peninsula. Mr. R. J. Wilkinson has noted that 'here and there in the forests of the Siamese Western States are fallen cities and temples, the relics of a civilisation that built in imperishable stone.' He has also referred to other facts which "point to the past existence of powerful states and a high standard of wealth and luxury in the north of the Malay Peninsula."² Besides, it may be easily supposed that the seat of central authority was transferred to Java for a period. As to the second argument, I have shown in the article referred to that the

1 Krom, *Geschiednis*, pp. 138-40. M. Coëdes, in a private letter, objects to the Malay Peninsula on the following, among other grounds— "The Peninsula is as poor in antiquities as Palembang itself."

2 R. G. Wilkinson, *A History of the Peninsular Malays* (3rd ed.), Singapore, 1923, p. 15.

expression *yava-bhūmipāla* in the Nālandā copperplate may lead to a very different inference from that of Krom.

III

But whatever we might think of the original seat of the Śailendras, there is no doubt that from the ninth century A.D. they were the dominant power in Malayasia. The Śailendra empire is mentioned by various Arab writers who designate it as Zābag or Zābaj, or the empire of Mahārāja, and they describe its wealth and grandeur in glowing terms. It is quite clear from these accounts that the authority of the king of Zābag extended over nearly the whole of Malayasia and possibly also over the two mighty kingdoms in Indo-China, viz., Cambodia and Campā.

As regards Kāamboja we have a tradition preserved by the merchant Sulaiman, whose account of a voyage in India and China was originally written in 851 and published by Abu Ziyad Hasan, with additional remarks, in 916 A.D. Sulaiman gives us the following story¹ :—

“It is said, in the annals of the country of Zābag, that in years gone by the country of Khmer came into the hands of a young prince of very hasty temper. One day he was seated with the Vizier when the conversation turned upon the empire of the Mahārāja, of its splendour, the number of its subjects and of the islands subordinate to it. All at once the king said to the Vizier, “I have taken a fancy into my head which I should much like to gratify..... I should like to see before me the head of the king of Zābag in a dish..... These words passed from mouth to mouth and so spread that they at length reached the ears of the Mahārāja. That king ordered his Vizier to have a thousand vessels of medium size prepared with their engines of war, and to put on board of each vessel as many arms and soldiers as it could carry. When the preparations were ended, and everything was ready, the king went on board his fleet and

¹ Elliot, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. I, p. 8
 Ferrand in *J.A.*, II—XX (1922), pp. 58ff. 219ff. The story is also repeated by Masudi (Ferrand *Textes* I, p. 93).

proceeded with his troops to Khmer.....The king of Khmer knew nothing of the impending danger until the fleet had entered the river which led to his capital, and the troops of the Mahārāja had landed. The Mahārāja thus took the king of Khmer unawares and seized upon his palace. He had the king brought forth and had his head cut off.....The Mahārāja returned immediately to his country and neither he nor any of his men touched anything belonging to the king of KhmerAfterwards the Mahārāja had the head washed and em-balmed, then putting it in a vase, he sent it to the prince who then occupied the throne of Khmer."

The story undoubtedly belongs to the domain of folklore, but seems to have been based on a real struggle between Zābag and the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia. This is confirmed by an inscription discovered in Cambodia itself. The Sdok Kak Thom Inscription, written in Sanskrit and Khmer, and dated in 974 Śaka (=1052 A.D.) tells us that king Jayavarman II, who came from Java to reign in the city of Indrapura, performed a religious ceremony in order that Kambujadeśa might not again be dependent on Java.¹ As Jayavarman II ruled from 802 to 869 A. D. it follows that the Khmer kingdom of Cambodia had come under the influence of Java towards the close of the eighth century A.D. Taking Java of the inscription to be identical with Zābag of the Arabian account, it is reasonable to refer the 'old' story of Sulaiman to the same period. This fits in well with other known facts. We have seen that the Śailendras had established their authority over Malay Peninsula and Java by 775 and 778 A.D. It is therefore quite reasonable to hold that they had at least a temporary success against the Khmers towards the close of the eighth century A.D. About the same period the fleet of Java raided the coast of Annam as far as Tonkin in the north. The Chinese annals refer to an invasion of the 'March of Tran-nam in 767 A.D. by the people of Co-lon (Kuen-Luen) and of Dàbà, which Maspero identifies with

1 B.E.F.E.O., vol. XV, Part ii, p. 87.

Chopo or Java.¹ In the inscription of the kingdom of Campā (corresponding to Annam, south of Tonkin) several references are made to naval raids by a foreign people and in one case the raiders are named 'forces coming by way of sea from Java.' The first reference occurs in Po-Nagar stelae inscription of King Satyavarman dated 706 Śāka (=784 A.D.). It runs as follows² :—

"In the Śāka year, denoted by *Kosa-nava-ṛtu* (696=774 A.D.), ferocious, pitiless, dark-coloured people of other ~~countries~~, whose food was more horrible than that of the vampires and who were vicious and furious like Yama, came in ships, took away the Mukhalinga of the God (Śambhu, established at Kauṭhāra by Vicitrāsāgara) and set fire to the abode of the God, as the armed crowds of Daityas did in heaven."

The same event is referred to in another inscription as follows³ :—"Multitudes of vicious cannibals coming from other countries by means of ships carried away the images."

The next reference occurs in Yang Tikuh stelae inscriptions of Indravarman I, dated 721 Śāka (=799 A.D.). Speaking of the temple of Bhadrādhīpatiśvara it says⁴ that 'it was burnt by the army of Java coming by means of ships and became empty in the Śāka year 709 (=787 A.D.).

Here, again, we find the fleet of Java raiding the distant coast of Campā during the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. Although definite evidence is wanting, there are reasons to believe that the successive naval raids overthrew the royal dynasty of Campā. But even if it were so, the success was a shortlived one. For a new dynasty soon established itself in Java.⁵ On the whole, therefore, while there is nothing to show that the fleet of Java gained any permanent material success in Campā, the circumstances

1 Maspero, *Le royaume de Champā*, pp. 97-98 and p. 98 f.n. 4. Da-ba may be equivalent to Arabic Djawāg.

2 R. C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Book III, p. 43.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 70.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

5 *Ibid.*, Book I, ch. V.

narrated above indicate their power, prestige and daring nature.

Now the question arises about the identity of Java mentioned in the Cham record. It has usually been taken to stand for Yavadvīpa or the island of Java, but it may also be taken as equivalent to Arabic Zābag and thus identical with the Śailendra empire. In the present instance, however, it makes but little difference whether we identify it with the one or the other, for, as we have seen, Java was at that time either included within the empire of the Śailendras or ruled by a member of the same dynasty, and as such there must have been a close association between the two so far at least as the foreign policy was concerned. On the whole, therefore, we are justified in regarding the naval raids as ultimately emanating from the empire of the Śailendras.¹

IV

The emergence of the Śailendras as the leading naval power in Indonesia constituted an international event of outstanding importance. The Arabian merchant Sulaiman concludes his story quoted above, by saying that "this incident raised the king (of Zābag) in the estimation of the rulers of India and China."

The evidences collected above leave no doubt that the empire of the Śailendras reached the high-water mark of its greatness and glory in the eighth century A.D. The following century saw the beginning of the inevitable decline. By the middle of the ninth century A.D. their supremacy was successfully challenged by the two great neighbouring States of Cambodia and Java. We have already seen the determined attempt of Jayavarman II of Cambodia (802-869 A.D.) to throw off the yoke of the Śailendras, and there is no doubt that he was entirely suc-

¹ It is, of course, possible to regard the naval raiders as mere pirates belonging to no country in particular. But the pointed references to the raiders as "*nāvāgatair—Java-vala-saṃghais*" seems to exclude this possibility. The expression implies 'an organised force sent from Java by way of sea,' and should more reasonably be taken as belonging to the ruling authority in Java.

cessful in that respect. There is no evidence that the Sailendras had any pretension of supremacy over that kingdom after Jayavarman's time.

About the same time, the Sailendras lost their hold on Java. Unfortunately we know almost nothing of the circumstances under which the Sailendras lost Java. It is also difficult to assign even any approximate date for this event. If king Samarottuṅga who issued the Kedu inscription in A.D. 847 may be identified with king Samarāgravīra of the Nālandā copperplate, we may presume that the authority of the Sailendra kings had continued in Java till at least the middle of the ninth century A.D. But this identification cannot be held as certain, the more so because a later king of East Java also bore the title Samarottuṅga. In any case the Sailendras must have lost their authority in Java by 879 A.D., as we find that Central Java was then being ruled over by a king of Java belonging to a different dynasty. The middle of the ninth century A.D. may thus be regarded as the approximate limit of the Sailendra supremacy in Java.¹

V

But in spite of the loss of Cambodia and Java, the Sailendra empire retained its position as a great power, and to the outside world it was still the greatest political power in the Pacific region.

In addition to the Nālandā copperplate which describes the Sailendras as rulers of Suvarṇadvīpa or Malayasia, our knowledge of them about this period is derived from the accounts left by Arab writers, who, as already remarked, refer to the country as Zābag. Ibn Hordadbeh (844-848 A.D) says that the king of Zābag is named Mahārāja. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred *mans* of gold. He prepares a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying 'there is my treasure.' A part of his revenue, about 50 *mans* of gold *per day*, is derived from cock-fight. A leg of the cock which wins belongs by right to him and the

¹ The history of the Sailendras in Java will be further discussed in a separate article.

owner of the cock redeems it by paying its value in gold.¹

The Arab merchant Sulaiman (851 A.D.) gives a more detailed account of the empire of Zābag. He says, "Kālah-bar (*i.e.*, the country round the Isthmus of Kra in the Malay Peninsula) is a part of the empire of Zābag which is situated to the south of India. Kālah-bar and Zābag are governed by the same king."²

The same account is repeated by Ibn-al-Fakiḥ who adds that there is no country in the south after Zābag and that his king is very rich.³

Ibn Rosteh, writing about 903 A.D., remarks: "The great king (of Zābag) is called Mahārāja *i.e.*, king of kings. He is not regarded as the greatest among the kings of India because he dwells in the islands. No other king is richer or more powerful than he and none has more revenue."⁴

These Arab writers as well as several others such as Ishak bin Imrān (died about 907 A.D.) and Ibn Serapion also refer to merchandises exported from Zābag and tell us marvellous tales of the country.

But the most detailed account of Zābag is furnished by Abu Zaid Hasan who published, about A.D. 916, the account originally written by Sulaiman in 851 A.D., with additional remarks of his own. He applies the name Zābag both to the kingdom and its capital city. His remarks may be summed up as follows:—

"The distance between Zābag and China is one month's journey by sea-route. It may be even less if the winds are favourable.

"The king of this town has got the title Mahārāja. The area of the kingdom is about 900 (square) Parsangs. The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1000 Parsangs or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza

1 *J.A.*, II XX (1922), pp. 52-53.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

(=Śrī-Vijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) Parsangs, and the island called Rāmī with an area of about 800 (square) Parsangs. The maritime country of Kalah, midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of Mahārāja. The area of Kalah is about 80 (square) Parsangs. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloe, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices and various other articles. There was a regular maritime intercourse between this port and Oman.

"The Mahārāja exercises his sovereignty on all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated from one end to the other.

"There is one very extraordinary custom in Zābag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted and weighed and these are entered in official records. The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals and royal slaves according to their rank and the remnant is distributed among the poor.¹"

Masudi has given some details about Zābag in his work, "Meadows of gold" (943 A.D.). Some of his relevant remarks are summed up below² :—

1. India is a vast country extending over sea and land and mountains. It borders on the country of Zābag, which is the kingdom of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands. Zābag which separates India from China is comprised within the former country. (p.92.)

2. The kingdom of Khmer is on the way to the kingdoms of the Mahārāja, the king of the islands of Zābag, Kalah and Sirandib. (Here follows the story quoted above, of the

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56ff. The account concludes with the story of the struggle between the king of Zābag and the king of Khmer which has already been quoted above.

² Ferrand, *Textes*, vol. I, Figures within brackets refer to pages of this volume.

expedition of the Mahārāja against the Khmer king and the death of the latter.) (p.93.)

3. (The story of the throwing of a gold bar every day into the lake near the palace.) (p.93.)

4. Formerly there was a direct voyage between China and ports like Siraf and Oman. Now the port of Kalah serves as the meeting place for the mercantile navies of the two countries. (p.96.)

5. In the bay of Campā, is the empire of the Mahārāja, the king of islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil. (p.99.)

6. In the empire of the Mahārāja is the island of Sri-buza (= Śrī-Vijaya) which is situated at about 400 Parsangs from the continent and entirely cultivated. The king possesses also the islands of Zābag and Rāmni; and many other islands and the whole of the sea of Campā are included in his domain. (p. 100.)

7. The country, of which Mandurapatan is the capital, is situated opposite to Ceylon, as the Khmer country is in relation to the isles of the Mahārāja, such as Zābag and others. (p. 107.)

The next in point of time is the account given by Ibrahim bin Wasif Sah (c. 1000 A.D.). "Zābag is a large archipelago thickly populated and with abundant means of livelihood. It is said that the Chinese, ruined by foreign invasions and civil wars, came and pillaged all the islands of the Archipelago and all their towns.

"The islands of Zābag are numerous; one of them, known as "Sribuza has an area of 400 (square) Parsangs.¹"

Albiruni (c. 1030 A.D.) says, "The eastern islands in this ocean, which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the Zābaj, called by the Hindus *Suvarṇa-dvīpa*

i.e., the gold islands. . . . The islands of the Zābaj are called the Gold Country (*Suvarṇa-dvīpa*), because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country.¹

The accounts of the Arab writers quoted above leave no doubt that a mighty empire, comprising a large part of the Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula, flourished from the middle of the ninth to at least the end of the tenth century A.D. Thus we must hold that even after the loss of Java and Cambodia, the Śailendra empire continued to flourish for more than a century, and Sribuza or Śrī-Vijaya formed an important and integral part of it.

VI

The Chinese annals contain references to a kingdom called San Fo-tsi which undoubtedly stands for the Śailendra empire. We learn from them that several embassies of the Śailendras visited China during the tenth century A.D.

In the year 904 or 905 A.D. the governor of the capital city was sent as an ambassador with tribute. The Chinese emperor honoured him with a title which means "the General who pacifies the distant countries."²

In the 9th month of the year 960 A.D. king Si-li hou-ta Hia-li-tan sent an ambassador named Li-tche-ti with tributes. During the winter of 961 A.D. the tribute was sent by a king called Chē-li Wou-ye. These ambassadors reported that the Kingdom of San-fo-tsi was also called Sien-lieou.³

In the spring of 962 A.D. the king Chē-li Wou-ye sent to

1 Sachau, *Alberuni*, vol. I, p. 210, vol. II, p. 106.

2 *J.A.*, II-xx (1922), p. 17, n.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 17, notes 2 and 3. It is difficult to suggest the original of the proper names given in Chinese. Ferrand suggests the following :

(1) Si-li hou-ta Hia-li-tan=(Malais) Seri kuda Haridana.

(2) Chē-li Wou-ye=Sri Wuja. Takakusu, however takes the first name as Śrī Kūṭahārit or Śrī Guptahārīta (*Records*, p. XLII). Ferrand further amends Sien-lieou as Mo-lieou and regards it as equivalent to Malayu. Needless to say, these suggestions are purely problematical and far from convincing.

China an embassy, composed of three ambassadors, with tribute. They brought back several articles from China.¹

Four embassies were sent in 971, 972, 974 and 975 A.D.

In 980 and 983 A.D. the King Hia-tche sent ambassadors with tribute, Hia-tche probably stands for the old Malay word 'Haji' which means king.²

The trade relation with China was also revived in the tenth century. In 971 A.D. a regular shipping-house was opened at Canton, and two more were later opened at Hang-chu and Ming-chu. We are told that foreign merchants, from Arabia, Malay Peninsu'a, San Fo-tsi, Java, Borneo, Philippine and Campā frequented these places.³

In the year 980 A.D. a merchant from San Fo-tsi arrived at Swatow with a cargo which was carried to Canton.⁴

Again in the year 985 A.D. the master of a ship came and presented products of his country.⁵

The Arabic and Chinese accounts thus both testify to the political and commercial greatness of the Śailendra empire throughout the tenth century A.D. Unfortunately we possess very few details of the political history of the kingdom. The only facts of outstanding importance that are known to us, in outline only, are its relations with Java and with the Chola kingdom in South India.

The History of the Sung dynasty gives us the first definite information that we possess regarding the relation between the Śailendras and Java, since the latter kingdom freed itself from the control of the former. We learn from this chronicle that in 988 A.D. an ambassador from San Fo-tsi came with tribute to China. He left the imperial capital in 990 A.D. But on reaching Canton he learnt that his country had been invaded by Cho-po (Java). So he rested there for about a year. In the spring of 992 A.D. the

1 *J.A.*, II-xx (1922), p. 17, n. 4. According to Ma-Twan-lin this embassy was sent by the king Li-si-lin-nan-mi-je-lai (i.e., Mi-je-lai, son of Li-si-lin).

2 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

3 Rockhill in *T'oung Pao*, 15 (1914), p. 420.

4 *J.A.*, II xx (1922), p. 18; Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 64.

5 *Ibid.*

ambassador went with his navy to Campā, but as he did not receive any good news there, he came back to China and requested the emperor to issue a decree making San Fo-tsi a protectorate of China.¹

We hardly know anything about the origin and incidents of this hostility, which took a serious turn in the last decade of the tenth century A.D. But it is not difficult to imagine that the relations between the two countries had always been hostile and perhaps there were intermittent fights, or it may be that Dharmavaṃśa, the king of Java, felt powerful enough to follow an imperial policy like his neighbour and this naturally brought about a collision between the two. But whatever that may be, there is no doubt about the result of the struggle. To begin with, the king of Java had splendid success and invaded the enemy's country. But his success was neither decisive nor of a permanent character. In 1003 A.D. San Fo-tsi recovered her strength sufficiently to send an embassy to China without any hindrance from Java.² In 1006 A.D. the kingdom of Java was destroyed by a catastrophe, the exact nature of which is not known. So the Sailendra empire was freed from any further fear from that quarter.³

1 *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 19.

3 This incomplete article represents the first chapter of the history of the Sailendras in my forthcoming book "*Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, vol. II, *Suvarṇadvīpa or Malayasia*" [i.e., Malay Peninsula and Malay Archipelago]. The subsequent history of the Sailendras is dealt with in the two following chapters—

- (1) The struggle between the Sailendras and the Cholas
- (2) Decline and fall of the Sailendra Empire.

The use of the Visarga symbol in some of the languages of Greater India

By Dr. C. O. Blagden

In an article "On the Benares Pronunciation of the Sanskrit Visarga" in the Centenary Supplement to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (October, 1924, p. 117) Sir George Grierson remarks: "I still consider that the ordinary pronunciation of *visarga* is nothing but a glottal check. This is confirmed by the fact that in Indo-Chinese languages such as Siamese, which have tones, but are written in this or that alphabet based on Déva-nāgarī, the glottal check is represented in writing by the sign corresponding to *visarga*. So also in Khmér, a language without tones but possessing the glottal check, the latter is represented in the same way. From this it is evident that when the learned men, who put these languages into writing, heard the *visarga* sounded, it struck their ears as a glottal check, a phenomenon with which they were, of course, familiar."

The passage quoted above was only incidental to the main subject of Sir George's article, which is indicated by its title and with which I have here no concern. But it raises some other points of interest by its reference to languages outside India proper which use alphabets of Indian origin; and, so far as I am aware, no comments have hitherto been made on it from that point of view. In passing, it may be mentioned that all the extant Indian alphabets of South-Eastern Asia and the neighbouring islands are derived, not from the Nāgarī, but from the Southern Brāhmī of the Deccan. That, however, is a matter of subsidiary importance so far as the present brief note is concerned, my object being rather to draw attention to the use of the *visarga* in the languages of these outlying regions.

So far as Siamese and Khmér enter into the argument,

there is not much to be said. I believe that in the Lao language of Eastern Siam the *visarga* has also, as in Siamese, the force of the glottal check (or unexploded glottal stop, as it is now perhaps more generally called).

But when Sir George refers to "Indo-Chinese languages" in general terms, a wider issue is raised and it seems desirable to supplement the evidence more in detail. Relying as it does on two languages, his conclusion depends in substance on a single alphabet, the Khmér, from which the Siamese was derived. When we turn to others we get quite a different result.

To mention in the first place, the Mon (or Talaing) alphabet of Southern Burma, with which I am most familiar, its *visarga* always has the force of *h*. The oldest document in the language, an inscription of Lophburi, in Southern Siam, published in the *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient* (1930), and judged by its style of writing to be of the 7th century A.D., contains but one word that is to the point, namely the pronoun of the third person, *ñah*, still written thus to this day, and now pronounced *ñeh*, with a final *h*. But similarly in the late 11th and early 12th century Mon inscriptions of Burma we find for the demonstrative pronoun 'that' the alternative forms *goḥ*, *goh*, and, curiously enough, *goḥh*, the modern pronunciation being *kòh* (with an open *o* sound). It is needless to multiply instances: suffice it to say that where the *visarga* was in old Mon immediately preceded by the (unwritten) vowel *a*, it is generally preserved in modern writing but pronounced as *h*, and where it was preceded by some other vowel, it is now replaced by an *h* with a *virāma*.

The Mon language also possessed the final unexploded stop and represented it in a somewhat original way by means of the letter *a* surmounted by a *virāma*. In modern writing this *virāma* has been superseded by the *anusvāra*, which is a source of some confusion, as in other words it serves for final *m* (and in one or two for final *h*). But the general conclusion is plain: Mon had both phenomena, final *h* and final glottal stop, and for the former, it used,

and to some extent still uses, the *visarga*, but not for the latter.

As regards Burmese which adopted the Mon alphabet, it is well known that the *visarga* is now employed to indicate the long falling tone, without glottal stop. For the latter, the Burmese Myazedi inscription of the early 12th century follows the Mon method of *a* with *virāma* (nowadays it is done by an *anusvāra* below the letter), but does not use the *visarga* at all in the words in which modern spelling has it, to indicate the long falling tone.

In Cham, an ancient language of French Indo-China, the *visarga* has always been, and still is, used to represent final *h*. As the language, which has a mixed vocabulary, contains a number of Indonesian words ending in their sound in common with their equivalents in other Indonesian languages, there can be no doubt at all that this was its value in the earliest Cham inscriptions, as it is to-day.

Turning now to the Indonesian island languages that use, or at one time used, forms of the Indian alphabet, we find that the Śrī-Vijaya inscriptions of Śaka 606 and 608, A.D. 684 and 686 (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d' Extrême-Orient*, 1930, pp. 29, seq.), which are in something that may conveniently be called old Malay, invariably use the *visarga* for final *h* and for no other purpose whatever. These are the oldest documents in any local language of the Eastern Archipelago, and here again we are on the safe ground of Indonesian linguistics. The same, to cut matters short, is true of Javanese from the 8th century A.D. onwards, and of other languages written in the same or some allied script.

The inference seems to be that some, at any rate, of the learned men who spread the use of the Indian alphabet in these regions were in the habit of pronouncing the *visarga* as a final *h*, and not as the unexploded glottal stop, unless indeed their adoption of it for the purpose was as arbitrary as the use of it in Burmese appears to us to be. But in view of the number of languages in which the *visarga* is used for final *h*, this alternative seems somewhat improbable.

Early Art of Śrīvijaya

By Devaprasad Ghosh

Śrīvijaya was the seat of a powerful maritime empire from the seventh to the twelfth century A.D. It has been identified by M. Coedès with Palembang in Sumatra. "The kings of the Śailendra dynasty of Śrīvijaya ruled not only over the greater portion of Sumatra, but also in Central Java, portions of the Malay Peninsula, and in numerous islands of the Archipelago. There is a tradition (mentioned by Arab travellers) of their overrunning Cambodia. They maintained friendly relations with the Pāla kings of Bengal and with the Chola kings of South India. As the rulers of Śrīvijaya were devout Mahāyānists, they constructed a Buddhist monastery at Nalanda with the permission of Devapāla of Bengal and a Buddhist temple Negapatam with the consent of Rājārāja Chola. Later on there was war between the two maritime powers Chola and Śrīvijaya."¹ From the thirteenth century onwards Śrīvijaya was overshadowed by Java.

It is strange that the most remarkable monuments of Śailendra art are not to be found on the Sumatran soil. Borobudur—the wonderous epic in stone—and other beautiful temples like Chandi Mendut, Chandi Sari, Chandi Kalasan, are all located in Central Java. Until recently Sumatra itself was poor in archaeological remains. But from 1920 onwards several important finds of deep significance, consisting of ruined temples, inscriptions, Buddhist images of stone and bronze, as well as some relief with decorative motifs, have been discovered in or about Palembang. We are greatly indebted to Dr. N. J. Krom for his instructive and penetrating survey of these antiquities in the pages of the latest issue of *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*

1 B. R. Chatterjee, *India and Java*, Calcutta, 1933, p. 41.

of the Kern Institute. "The few ancient remains which Śrīvijaya has bequeathed to us," he says in the concluding lines of this illuminating article,¹ "present various problems, the solution of which may be expected in the first place from scholars familiar with the history of the art of India proper. To their attention we commend the study of the early art of Śrīvijaya."

Looking at the accompanying reproductions, our interest is first of all aroused by the remarkable representations of the headless stone Buddha of 'absolutely un-Javanese type.'² According to Dr. Krom³ it "clearly shows such close affinity with the type found on the Indian continent that in all probability it may be taken as a specimen of the earliest art of Śrīvijaya, directly derived from Indian art at a time before the near relations with Java in the eighth century brought the 'Śailendra art' into being. In this connection the presence on the same spot of records in Pallava script of the seventh century must be taken into account." The treatment of the drapery with its stiff folds and rigid vertical border, betraying Hellenistic influence, has justly led him to relate this statue to the Amaravati School of Art. His conclusions on this point are highly convincing. They are not merely tentative, as he modestly observes. In fact, there cannot be any other opinion on the relic in question which we can safely ascribe on stylistic grounds to a period not later than the 4th century A.D.

Continuing the above argument Dr. Krom observes, "Some scholars have maintained that Amaravati is to be regarded as the place from which Javanese art originated, without however adducing any convincing proof of their assertion. But although the theory of such assertion cannot be upheld with reference to Java, it is possibly correct as far as the earliest art of Śrīvijaya is concerned." The undoubted influence of the Amaravati School of Sculpture of

1 N. J. Krom, *Antiquities of Palembang, Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, 1931, pp. 29-33.

2 *Ibid.*, pl. XI, a, b.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

PLATE I



Stone Buddha image,
Palembang

(To face page 32)



Fig. 1 — Stone statue of
Avalokitesvara
Palembang

(To face page 33)

the Andhra-lkṣvāku period is also reflected in several Buddha images recovered from different parts of Indo-China and Indonesia.¹ They hail from Doo Duong in central Annam² from K'orat and P'ong Tük in Siam³ from old Prome in Burma⁴ and from South Djember in Eastern Java.⁵

We cannot, however, agree with Dr. Krom's further opinion⁶ that "the relations with Southern India, although their existence is proved by unimpeachable evidence, have exercised no influence of any importance on this art." Regarding the fragmentary stone statuette of a Bodhisattva figure and the striking stone statue of Avalokiteśvara,⁷ he admits that "their style certainly does not agree with that of the earliest images of Java," but he fails to explain their peculiar character and workmanship. On a closer examination of these statues the reasons for this "un-Javanese" impression appear evident. For in the details of iconography, ~~dress~~ and embellishment as well as in the general plastic feeling they definitely recall South Indian types. The statue of Avalokiteśvara (fig. 1) in particular in its heavy immobility and roundness, its compact massive structure, its stern simplicity and soft smooth gracefulness, is almost an echo of the monumental Pallava reliefs of the 7th century at Mamallapuram in the Madras Presidency. The discovery of a stone slab bearing an inscription in Pallava-grantha characters ~~in the~~ neighbourhood further strengthens this notable testimony to the cultural contact between the Pallavas and Śrīvijaya.

Next let us examine the unique little bronze Buddha head (fig. 2) which really appears to be enigmatical at first sight. "The piece in question," observes Dr. Krom in the above

1 D. P. Ghosh, *Amaravati School of Sculpture*, Cal. Rev. Feb. 1931, pp. 224-26.

2 Leuba, *Les Chams et leur Art*, 1923, pl. XVII.

3 Coedès, *Journal of the Siam Society* vol. XXI, pl. 18.

4 *Ann. Bib. Ind. Arch.*, 1928, pl. X, a.

5 Colin, *Buddha in der Kunst des Ostens*, Leipzig, 1925, pls. 29, 31.

6 *Ann. Bib. Ind. Arch.*, 1931, p. 31.

7 *Ibid.*, pl. XII, c—e.

context, "is decidedly un-Javanese in character, except for such details as are common to the bronze art in general of the Malay Archipelago and the adjoining regions of the Malay Peninsula. Even such details as the treatment of the ear are different. The most conspicuous peculiarity of the bronze head is no doubt the fillet decorated with rosettes which surrounds it, a feature never met with in the case of the Buddha images from Java. Apparently it is meant for a garland of honour, very effective in association with the traditional curly locks of Buddha."¹ So this mysterious head raises problems not a little interesting. We think that the standing bronze Buddha from South Djember mentioned above, which belongs to c. 6th century A.D., supplies the clue to the origin of the baffling head. Although recovered from Eastern Java, the Buddha statue presumably belongs to South India. If we compare its head (fig. 3) with the Sumatran specimen, many striking affinities may be discerned. Apart from the fillet, such common features as general physiognomy, the undulating outline of the head characterised by large and prominent spiral locks, the treatment of the eyes, lips and ears specially, as well as the modelling of the cheek and chin accompanied by a sense of sharp precision, proclaim the evident kinship between the two examples. This comparative study leads us to infer that the prototype, which inspired the unique Sumatran head, should be sought in some part of Vengi in South India. For the bronze Buddha found in Java betrays the indelible impress of the Amaravati style.

It may be noticed, that the Sumatran Buddha head is closely akin to the bronze Buddha heads from Buddhapad near Bezwada described by Sewell nearly forty years ago.² Some of these last appear from their technique and treatment to belong to the Gupta period, others are of much

1 *Ibid.*, p. 32; pl. X, a, b.

2 R. Sewell, *Some Buddhist Bronzes and Relics of Buddha*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, pl. 2, figs. 1, 2.

later date.¹ We are confronted in both the cases with the same oval face, with pointed chin and sharp angular nose and the same half-opened eyes. It should be observed here that there is less stylistic correspondence between the Indonesian bronze Buddhas and the bronze Buddha statuettes discovered by Rea at Amaravati itself,² which are characterised by large squarish heads, fully opened eyes, flat nose, heavy lips, broad chests and bodies obscured by the straight hanging folds of the heavy garment.³ These peculiarities of the Amaravati style lead us to infer that the stone image of Buddha from Sumatra mentioned above (p. 32) should belong to the same Andhra-Ikṣvāku period. These early Amaravati sculptures should be distinguished from the Gupta and early mediaeval statues from Buddhapaḍ with their tapering crowns, oval heads, sloping shoulders, slim features and tightly clinging transparent drapery revealing the contour of the limbs. Apart from the stray later sculptures discovered from different sites, we learn from the mediaeval inscriptions of Ketarāja II, the Kota chief of Amaravati, that the Buddhist religion continued to have votaries in the Telugu country, also that there "the great Chaitya was still in existence and in good condition even as late as the 12th century A.D."⁴

The next group of three exquisite bronzes representing Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara and Buddha⁵ might be easily taken for Javanese bronzes according to Dr. Krom. But though various details in their case show the characteristics of Javanese Sailendra art, their design and conception along with certain other details (e.g., the *jaṭāmukūṭa*, the full squarish face, the necklace and *uttariya* and lastly the flowing curves of the swelling sensuous body fashioned with

1 An inscription from the fragments of a pedestal can be dated about 1000 A.D., according to Bühler.

2 *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1908-09, pl. XXVIII, figs. a-c, e-g.

3 D. P. Ghosh, *Development of Buddhist Art in South India*, pt. II, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Sept. 1927; pp. 496-97.

4 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VI, p. 148ff.

5 *Ann. Bib. Ind. Arch.*, 1931, pl. X, c, d, e.

delicate touches) are reminiscent of the Pāla art of Bengal (fig. 4). Dr. A. J. Bernet Kempers in his recent able monograph has proved the influence of Nalanda bronzes upon Hindu-Javanese art beyond doubt. We must remember that apart from the foundation of a monastery at Nalanda during the reign of Devapāla by the Śailendra monarch Bālaputra, Dharmapāla, the famous Guru of Nalanda, is stated on the high authority of Prof. Kern, to have passed his last years in Sumatra. The Kelurak inscription also tells us of the visit of a famous Rājaguru from Gauḍadvīpa (Bengal) to Java.¹ So there is nothing surprising in the evident traces of the Pāla art on these bronze figures.

"In the copper-plate grant preserved in the Leyden University Museum it is recorded that the king Rājarāja Chola I, the father of Rājendra Chola I, in the 21st year of his reign (A.D. 1005) granted a village to the Cūḍāmaṇi-varma-vihāra or Cūḍāmaṇipadma-vihāra at Nāgāpattana (Negapatam) built by Śrī Māravijayottuṅgavarman, son of Cūḍāmaṇi-varman of the Śailendra dynasty, king of Kaṭāha and Śrī-vishaya."² The remains of this Buddhist temple were seen by Sir Charles Elliot as late as 1846. Recently a horde of bronze Buddha images, several bearing inscriptions in Tamil characters of the 12th or 13th century, have been recovered from this place.³ In view of the intimate political and cultural contact between the Cholas and Śailēndras lasting for generations, it is very tempting to relate the Negapatam bronzes with the Sumatran finds. But the Negapatam images are of decidedly conventional and decadent type and cannot possibly have any connection with the earlier bronzes of Śrīvijaya.

Architectural remains worthy of notice have not yet been discovered in Sumatra. But we cannot refrain from taking a passing notice of the controversy which is still raging round the grandest achievement of Śailendra art in Java

1 B. R. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

2 *ARASI.*, 1927-28, p. 151.

3 *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII, figs. 1-3.

PLATE I

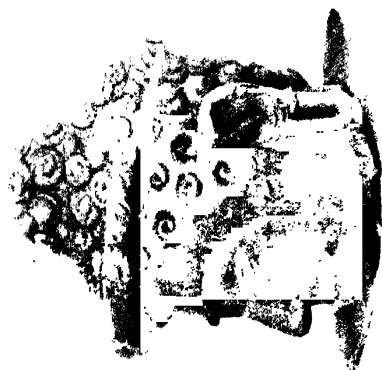


Fig. 2 Bronze head of Buddha
image.
Palenbang
(To face page 33)



Fig. 3 Bronze head of Buddha image
South India
5th-6th century A.D.
(To face page 34)



Fig. 4 Bronze image of
Manriya
Palenbang
(To face page 35)

viz., Borobudur. Dr. van Stein Callenfells is reported to have stated in a lecture delivered before the India Society of London that, "the one non-Javanese temple in Java was Borobudur.....Chandi Borobudur was not built in the Indian style,"¹ while a contrary opinion is expressed by Lieut. Colonel van Erp according to whom "the monument, though a Javanese development of the idea of a stūpa, must be regarded, as far as the architecture² is concerned, as a pure representative of the Indian stūpa of the later period."³ Now regarding Dr. Callenfells' contention, we all admit that the Hindu temples of the Dieng plateau, which are the earliest monuments in Java, do not seem to follow directly any known Indian prototype, though they must be associated with the earliest period of Hindu settlement⁴ and their superficial resemblance to the Seven Rathas of Mamallapuram (built by the Pallava king Mahendravarman in the 7th century), is undeniable. Mr. O. C. Gangoly is of opinion⁵ that they probably represent types formerly represented in wood, but he has also shown by comparing the elevation of a typical South Indian Vimāna with that of Chandi Arjuna that there is an obvious similarity in the lower parts below the pinnacle, the tower being divided in stages very much like South Indian temples. Again, the earliest dated inscription in Sanskrit Pallava-grantha character relating to king Sañjaya of Central Java, discovered in Janggal (732 A.D.) records that the first Śaiva temple in Java was erected by a Brahman clan of the Agastya gotra and that the model of the temple was derived from a Śaiva temple in Kunjara Kunja (Kona)

1 *Indian Arts and Letters*, vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 14-15.

2 I have already tried to show that the Buddha images of Borobudur are modelled upon the Orissan Buddhas from Ratnagiri, etc. (*Modern Review*, Nov. 1933, pp. 500-504).

3 *Ann. Bib. Ind. Arch.*, 1931, p. 34.

4 It is believed that "in the Dieng plateau lived the last of the Hindu families descended from the first Hindus who visited and colonised Java." (D. M. Campbell *Java Past and Present*, London, 1915).

5 O. C. Gangoly, *The Art of Java*, Calcutta, p. 16; figs., 3, 4

deśa, a sacred site in Southern India on the banks of the Tungabhadra.¹

In the latter part of the eighth century, South Indian influence and Śaivism was overshadowed by Northern Indian and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Indonesia, through the agency of the Śailendras, who were perhaps related to the Śailodbhavas of Kalinga who migrated to the Malay Peninsula in the eighth century.² Borobudur is not only built in the Indian style, but has a remote resemblance to the newly discovered Paharpur and Mahasthan temples in Bengal. In groundplan and elevation, it is however, Chandi Sewa (9th century)³ which bears striking affinity to Paharpur with its quadrangle surrounded by cells, its receding terraces, re-entrant angles, four cardinal ante-chambers, circumbulatory passages and walls decorated with running friezes of terracotta figures.⁴ The Bengal type of temple architecture of the Pā'a period, was probably transported to Java *via* Burma as is clearly indicated by the structural plan and elevation of the ancient Burmese Stūpas.

1 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

2 R. D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1930, vol. I, p. 131

3 Gangoly, *op. cit.*, fig. 11.

4 *ARASI.*, 1927-28, pls. XII-XV, XLV.

An Old-Javanese Inscription from Ngabean of the Saka year 801

By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar

Of the many *ḥawi*-inscriptions of Java, which have not yet been translated into any language, the present copper-plate which was discovered in Ngabean in the Magelang Division of Kedu is one. The size of this plate is approximately 14.17" × 8.85". Since the year 1892, it has been lying in the Museum at Batavia, where it is numbered E. 6. In the *Notulen* for 1892 pp. 23 ff, Dr. Brandes took a passing notice of this as well as of some other contemporary records. This record has also been transcribed in Brandes-Krom, *Oudjavaansche Oorkonden*, where it occupies the 12th number. I now edit the text from this transcription and add an original translation and diacritical marks.

TEXT

- a. 1. swasti śakawarṣātita 801 śrāvanamāsa tithi
pañcami śuklapakṣa, wurukung, Umanis, Soma,
•wāra tatkalā ājñā Śri mahā
2. rāja rake kayuwangi, tumurun i rakarayān kag-
nap hino watu tihang bawang śirikan umanugra-
hākna ikanang tgal i kwa
3. k watak wka, gaṇagaṇā tampaḥ 5 sinusuk gawa-
yan sawaḥ maparaha śimānikanang prisāda i
kwak dham rakarayān wka pu ca
4. tura, buatthajyanya mangragā kamwang ing pas-
tika, akan bisuwa caitrāsujji, ujar haji kinon raka-
rayān wka, mangaséa
5. kna pasêk pasêk yathānyan mapageḥha i dlā-
haningdlāha, rake hino pu aku, rake watu ti-
hang pu agra, samgat bawang pu pa
6. rtha, rake sirikan pu purungul, kapua inangœan

- mas su l wḍihan kalyaga yu l sowang sowang
halaran pu dempāṅkara
7. panggil hyang pūttarāsangga, dalinan pu acung,
manghuri pu kiti, pangkur pu gawa, tawān pu
rañjan tirip pu agra pinda, wadihati pu
 8. manū, makudur pu mnang, kapua inangsêan
mas mā 8 wḍihan birā yu l sowang sowang,
tuhān ri wadihati u miramiraḥ mangra
 9. kappi halaran tuhān i makudur wangun sugih,
kapua wineḥ mas mā 5 wḍihan ragi yu l sowang
sowang wanghuta hyang lu
 10. paku manupuk sang halaran anak wanua i tāl
warani watak hamêas, i makudur, sang rawug-
wug anagwanua i hinpu
 11. watak pêar wineḥ mas mā 5 wḍihan ragi yu l
sowang sowang, patiḥ airbuwung rikang kāla si
haris rama ni nita patiḥ kalya
 12. n si parama rama ni gesti, kapua wineḥ mas mā
5 wḍihan ragi yu l sowang sowang, parujarning
patiḥ airbuwung si maja rama ni warju
 13. k, wahutanya si hali, parujarning patiḥ kalyan si
layar rama ni hidêḥ, wariganya si ayuddha rama
ni nidhi, kapua wineḥ ma
 14. s mā 2 wḍihan ragi yu l sowang sowang, wahuta
putat si laṇḍu ramani kayêm, si ranggal rama ni
pêlêm, kapu wineḥ mas mā 5 wḍi
 15. han ragi yu l sowang sowang, pitungtung pu
sumwara rama ni hamwingmatulak si mangher
rama ni santul, kapua wineḥ mas mā 1 wḍihan
 16. ragi yu l, sowang sowang, anung rāma māgman
i kwak rikang kāla kaḷang 2 si puli rama ni
sukam, si hanêng rarna ni pawêm, gusti 2 hi hli
 17. rama ni si taru rama ni puluk, tuha banua 2 si
cara rama ni guwar, si kahuripan rama ni hangū
winkas si rawān rama ni
- b. 1. Kapua wineḥ mas mā 2 wḍihan ragi yu l sowang
sowang, wariga santaiy parujar 2 si guse rama
ni gaja, si jala rama ni angkatan,

2. hulu kun si maṇḍit rama ni wadwan, tuhalas si
luat, rama ni palana, hungler si brati rama ni
pahal kapua wineḥ mas mā l wḍi
3. han ragi yu l, sowang sowang, marhyang i kawik-
kwan si lanah si bharyyā, rewatēm(?) tuha
paḍahi si dhanam, marêgang si śukla mangla si
buddha, maga (?)
4. si kuṇḍi, mawuai si pawān kapua wineḥ mas
mā l wḍihan ragi yu l sowang sowang, rāma tpi
siring rikang kālā, kalang ri waharu si warju ra
5. mani tahun, i halang manuk kalang si śila rama
ni guḍay, i tiga wangi kalang si wadwā, gusti si
kamwar rama ni śristi, i malañjang gusti si
bharata
6. rama ni taytra i hiwas si pañca rama ni paḍang,
kring pu bhāgya, mangilala paranakan, si ra-
kinam si carik, kapua wineḥ mas mā l wḍihan
7. ragi yu l sowang sowang, saji ni manguyut mas
mā 5 wḍihan yu 2 wulang hulu sang makudur
wḍihan yu l saji sang hyang watu kulu
8. mpang mas mā 5 wḍihan yu 5 bras pāda l wsi
ikat 10, haluhalu 5 wtinya ikat 5 wadung l rim-
was l, taratarah l tampila
9. n l kriṣ l tataḥ l laṇḍak l linggis 5 dāng l taray
• l padamaran l muang caru tulung tawur sātthi-
karāja sakāma sa
10. mua kumol wḍus hayam hantrini, i sampunnya
mangkana manaḍah sangwahuta hyang kudur
muang patih wahutu, muang rāma tpi si
11. ring muang rāma i kwak rarai matuha manuam
kabeḥ, i sampuning manaḍah mangḍiriḍiri sang
kudur manapate manawurakan hawu, manambah
12. ikanang patih wahuta muang rāma tpi siring
muang rāma i kwak muwah i ronyanahan cihnan-
yaṅ sampun mapagêh ikanang tgal i kwak
13. sinusuk gawayan sawah śimānikanang prasāda i
kwak, kunang āsing umulahulah ikeng śima sal-
wirning sangsāra pangguhanya eka pi

14. ṇḍabyāyaning manīma mas su kā I su II mas mā
5 mas ku 3||o||

TRANSLATION

- a. 1. Hail! The Śaka year past 801, the month of Śrāvaṇa, the fifth day of the bright half of the month, *Wurukung* (day of the six-day week), *Umanis* (day of the five-day week), Monday. That is the time when the orders of H. M. the great king *raḱe* Kayuwangi
2. were communicated to *raḱarayān* Kagēnap hino watu tihang bawang śirikan about the favour (that) the *tēgal* (ground) at *kēwak* °
3. watak *wēka*, in all 5 *Tampah*'s,¹ shall be marked off to be made a *sawah*² (field), which is fixed (?) as a free region for the temple³ at *Kēwak* dham. The *raḱarayān* *weka* pu catura
4. made the king's constructions the embodied beauty (lit. 'flower') of *Pastika*, *Akan-Bisuwa*, *Caitrasuji*.⁴ The royal word was sent to the *raḱarayān*⁵
5. *Wēka* about giving different sums, as have been fixed, for the furthest future. The *raḱe* Hino pu⁶ *Aku*, the *raḱe* *Watu tihang* pu *Agra*, the *samēgat* *Bawang* pu *Partha*,

1 A kind of measurement.

2 This term frequently occurs in inscriptions. Elsewhere Kern has translated this word by 'acre'.

3 Read here '*Prāsāda*'.

4 As in other cases, the names offer some difficulties. It is difficult to say whether *Akan* and *Caitra* are names of persons or villages. I have taken them to be names of villages. If they refer to names of persons, they should go together with the following passive construction and *ujur haji*, in that case, would be a proper name, which does not appear probable.

5 *Raḱe*, *raḱrayan*, *raḱarayān*, etc., are high official titles.

6 *Pu* or *Mpu* is equivalent to Eng. *Mr.* *Si* is used before names of persons without rank or title. (Kern, *V*, G., VIII, p. 164ff.). It is also used before names of weapons.

6. the *rake* Śirikan pu Purungul, all were given gold *mā* suvarṇa, red-coloured cloth 1 pair¹ each; the *halaran* pu Dempāṅkara (= Dīpa-ṅkara)³
7. *panggil*, the Rev. Uttara and Asangga (= Asaṅga)⁵ the *dalinan*² pu Acung, the *manghuri*⁴ pu kiti, the *pangkur*² pu gawa, the *tawān*⁵ pu Rañjan, the *tirip*⁶ pu Agra Piṇḍa, the *wadihati*⁷ pu
8. Manū, the *maḥdur*⁸ pu Menang, all were given gold 8 *mā*, blue⁹ cloth 1 pair each; the *tuhān*¹⁰ of *Wadihati* (namely?) Umiramirah¹¹ Mangra
9. *kappi*, the *halaran* *tuhān* of *maḥdur* Wangun sugiḥ, all were given gold 5 *mā*, *ragi*- (a pattern) cloth 1 pair each; the *Wanghuta*¹² holy
10. Lupaku manupuk, the worthy *halaran*, native of Tāl warani watak hamêas, with (?) *maḥdur*, the worthy Rawugwug, native¹³ of Hinpu
11. Watak Pear, were given gold 5 *mā* *ragi*-cloth 1 pair each; the *Patih*¹⁴ Airbuwung at Kāla, Haris, (who is) the Elder¹⁵ of Nita, the *Patih* Kalyan.

1 Dr. Poerbatjaraka, in his translation of the Péréng inscription in *Agastya in den Archipel*, has rendered *yu* by a word whose English equivalent should be 'set'. The word is an abbreviation of *yuga*.

2 These are official titles.

3 The names are interesting.

4 This is a high official title. A detailed note on this term is given by Berg in his *Middeljavaansche Historische Traditie*, pp. 19ff.

5 Collector of taxes?

6 Collector of taxes.

7 Village-messenger?

8 Official title of the priest.

9 The text has *birā*, which is not known to me. *Birā* means 'blue'. In old-Javanese there is no sharp distinction between *a* and *ā*.

10. It may mean 'head, chief, guide', etc. What is intended here is difficult to say.

11 From the prefix *um*, it appears to be a verb. But on the analogy of the foregoing and following words, I take it to be a proper name.

12 Its meaning is not known to me. It is apparently a title.

13 Here stands *Anagwanua*. In the preceding line, its variation is spelt as *anak wanua*.

14 Commander.

15 The exact function of *wahuta* (later *Bugut*) and *Rama* are not

12. Parama, (who is) the Elder of Gesti, all were given gold 5 *mā*, ragi-cloth 1 pair each the *parujar*¹ of *Patih* Airbuwung, namely Maja (who is) the Elder of Warjuk,
 13. his *wahuta*, namely, Hali, the *parujar* of *Patih* Kalyan, namely Laya, (who is) the Elder of Hidêh, his *wariga*,² namely, Ayuddha (who is) the Elder of Nidhi, all were given gold
 14. 2 *mā*, ragi-cloth 1 pair each; the *wahuta* pu tat,³ Lanđu (who is) the Elder of Kayêm, Ranggal (who is) the Elder of Pêlêm, all were given gold 5 *mā*, ragi-cloth 1
 15. pair each; the *pitungtung*⁴ pu Sumwara (who is) the Elder of Hamwingmatulak, Mangher (who is) the Elder of Santul, all were given gold 1 *mā*, ragi-cloth
 16. 1 pair each; the Elder (*rama*) Magman at Kewak, of Kala, the two *Kalangs*⁵ namely, Pulu (who is) the Elder of Sukam, hanêng (who is) the Elder of Pawêm, the two *Vaiśyas* (gusti), namely, Heli
 17. the Elder of Taru (who is) the Elder of Puluk, the two village-chiefs, namely, Cara (who is) the Elder of Guwar, Kahuripan (who is) the Elder of Hangu, the clerk⁶ Rawân (who is) the Elder of
- b. 1. . . . all were given gold 2 *mā*, ragi-cloth 1 pair each; the *wariga* Santaïy,⁷ the two *parujars*, namely, Guse (who is) the Elder of Gaja and Jala (who is) the Elder of Angkatan,

known. I have generally translated them by 'Elder' or 'village-head'. *Tahan* also falls into the same category.

1 His exact function is not known.

2 Title of an unknown officer.

3 *Wahuta pu tat* may together form the official title of Lanđu. Such title I have not come across.

4 Apparently an official title.

5 It may refer to an officer or a carpenter. Probably the former is intended here.

6 *Winḥas* = *Winḥas*. 7 Such spellings are not common in *kawi*,

2. the *hulu kuwn*¹ namely, Maṇḍit (who is) the Elder of Wadwan, the *tuhalas*² namely Luat (who is) the Elder of Palana, the *hungler*³ Brati (who is) the Elder of Pahal, all were given gold 1 *mā*, *ragi*-cloth
3. 1 pair each, the temple-priest at Kawike-wan, namely Lanah, Bħarryā *rewatēm* (?).³ the principal *gamelan*-player⁴ namely Dhanam, the *marêgang*⁵ namely Śukla, the *mangla*¹ namely Buddha, the *maga* (?)⁶
4. Kuṇḍi, the *mawuai* namely Pawān, all were given gold 1 *mā*, *ragi*-cloth 1 pair each; the chief 'Tepi S'ring' of Kala, the *Kalang* of Waharu,
5. namely Warju (who is) the Elder of Tahun, with (?)⁸ Halang Manuk, the *Kalang* namely Śila (who is) the Elder of Guḍay, with Tiga Wangi the *Kalang* namely Wadwā, the *Vaiśya* (*gusti*) namely Kamwar (who is) the Elder of Śristi, with Malañjang, the *Vaiśya* (*gusti*) namely Bharata
6. the Elder of Taytra, with Hiwas, Pañca (who is) the Elder of Paḍang, the *Kring*⁹ pu Bhāgya, the collector Paranakan, Rakinam, Carik, all were given gold 1 *mā*, *ragi*-
7. cloth 1 pair each; tributes for *manguyut*¹⁰ are gold 5 *mā*, cloth 2 pairs, (tributes for) Wulang hulu (who is) the worthy *makudur* are 1 pair cloth; tributes for the god *Watukulumpang* are

1 An official title, whose significance is not known to me.

2 Superintendent of the forest?

3 These are queries of Dr. Brandes.

4 *Tuha paḍahi*.

5 A player with a sort of musical instrument.

6 Water-carrier?

7 The phrase lit. means 'neighbours'.

8 It is not clear if the following words are names of persons or villages.

9 Certain classes of marks? Cf. Gedangan Inscription of 782 *Śaka*, Pl. V, b in Kern, *V. G. VII*, p. 35.

10 The word literally means 'aversion'. This sense is not applicable here. Can it mean 'for averting evil spirits'? There is a *kaṇṇ*-word

8. gold 5 *mā*, cloth 5 pairs, *bras pāda* 1, *wesi iḡat* 10, *halu-halu* 5, *wetinya iḡat*,¹ hatchet 1, plane 1, mattock (?) 1, pick-axe (?) 1.
9. *kris*¹ 1, chisel 1, *laṇḍak* 1, *linggis* 5, cooking-pot 1, *taray* 1, *padamaran* 1. Further, offerings meant for sacrifice by the virtuous king, (who was) with desires and fascination,²
10. included goat, fowl, egg; at the end of which (offering), such were eaten by the worthy *wahutu*, the Rev. Kudur, and the *patiḥ* Wahutu, and older neighbours
11. and the head of *kewak*, lads, the old, the young, all! At the end of eating, rose up the Rev. Kudur cursed (and) scattered³ ashes; respectfully testified.
12. this the *Patih* wahuta and older neighbours and the head of *kewak*. Further, with two of such marks (of ashes) fully fixed,⁴ this ground (*tegal*) is
13. marked off to become a field (*sawah*), (which is) the free region of the temple at *Kewak*. If any one violates this free region, may all sorrows go with him (even) to the nether-world.
14. The total expenses for making the free *desa* are gold *su*.⁵ 1 *ḡā*⁶ 11 gold, 5 *mā*, 3 *ḡu*.⁷

Manguyu, meaning 'ascetics'. From the association of the following words, the term may be accepted in that sense, though we cannot explain the omission of *t*.

1 A kind of Javanese dagger.

2 The text has *samua*=*sa mwa*, *sa moha*. I take the root to be the Skr. *Moha*.

3 *Manawurakan*=*Ma sawur aken*(= *akan*).

4 Another interpretation is possible, viz., "Further, on leaves also such marks (of ashes) being fully fixed....." The difficulty lies with the word *ronya*, of which the *o* may be the equivalent of *wa*. If so, *rwanya* yields the meaning 'accepted' in my translation. Again, if we take the word to be *ron ya*, then the meaning becomes 'leaves also'.

5 Abbreviation of *suvarṇa*.

6 Abbreviation of *ḡarṣa*. 1 *ḡarṣa*=16 *mās*.

7 Abbreviation of *ḡupang*. 1 *ḡupang*=1/6 *mās*.

MISCELLANY

Depung—The Monastic University of Tibet

By Pandit Vidhusekhara Sastri

In Sanskrit there is a word *kuḷapati*. It means 'the head of a family.' But it has a special signification. One who teaches *ten thousand* students maintaining them with food, etc., is called a *kuḷapati*.¹ To teach so many students free of charge after accommodating them in one place may sound very strange, but it is a fact, as we know from the authentic instance of the ancient University of Nalanda, where provision was made for the residence and teaching of not less than ten thousand students. Such a University is still in existence in Tibet, the country that owes much to India for its religion and civilization.

There are numerous monasteries in Tibet established mostly in imitation of those in India. As the biggest of them all the following four deserve special mention :—

- (1) Depung² (*bras spuṅs*), Dhānyakuṭaka;³
- (2) Serā (*se ra*), 'Wild Rose';
- (3) Tāshi lhun po (*Bkra Śis lhun po*), Maṅgalakūṭa;
- (4) Gāden⁴ (*Dga' ldan*), Tuṣita.

1 *Munināṇi daśasāhasram yo 'nnadānūtipālānūt/
adhyāpayati vipraśiḥ sa vai kuḷapatiḥ smṛtaḥ//*

2 Some pronounce Dapūṅ.

3 The Sanskrit equivalent of the Tibetan word Depung (*'bras spuṅs*) is written differently by different writers, such as *Dhanakacheḥa*, *Dhanakaṭaka*, *Dhānyakaṭaka*, etc. See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, pp. 214-16. These variations are undoubtedly due to the Chinese transliteration of the place-name, which is *J'ê-na-ka-che-ka*. The Tibetan name compared with the Chinese transliteration suggests the Sanskrit equivalent to be nothing but *Dhānyakuṭaka*, the first word of the Tibetan name *'bras* meaning here *dhānya* 'paddy' (the word means also 'rice'), and the second *spuṅs kuṭa* or *kuṭaka* 'heap.' *Kaṭaka* has nothing to do here.

4 Sometimes written as *ser ba* meaning *śila* 'hail'.

5 Sometimes pronounced as Gānden.

Depung was founded in 1415 A.D. by Jam yang cho rje ('jam dbyaṅs chos rje) or Mañjughoṣa, Dharmasvāmin; Sera in 1418 A.D. by Cam chen cho rje (*Byams chen chos rje*), or Mahāmaitreya Dharmasvāmin; Tāshi lhun po about the same time by Gedun ḍup pa (*Dge gdun grub pa*), or Saṅgha-siddhi; and Gāden in 1408 A.D. by Je tsong kha' pa lo zang dag pa (*Rje tson kha pa blo bzang grags pa*), or Svāmin Sumatikirti.

The foremost of all these monasteries is Depung with which we are concerned here. While Gāden can accommodate 3,300 monks or students, Tāshi lhun po 4,880, and Serā 5,500, Depung has accommodation for 10,000, the present number being 7,700.

Depung was founded after the model of the ancient monastery of Depung in Southern India (i.e., Andhradeśa¹) and hence it was called by this name.

Sarat Chandra Das writes (JASB., 1905, N.S., Vol. I, p. 115) about Depung that here the founder "established eight colleges for teaching the different branches of sacred and secular learning. In course of time the monastery became the principal seat of learning, and learned and wise men flocked to it from the different parts of the country. In discipline, moral culture, and purity of life, the monks of Depung excelled the monks of all other similar institutions in Tibet. It soon claimed a University with seven colleges for the study of the different branches of sacred literature including metaphysics, logic, medicine, and one for that of profane literature for the benefit of the lay people."

Towards the end of the year 1931 a young Lama (*Bla ma*) 'Guru' came from Mongolia to our Viśvabhāratī. He was called *Ge she Thub ten she rab*. (Fig. 1). *Thup ten she rap* (*Thub bstan śes rab*) was his actual name. In Sanskrit it is *Muniśāsanaprājña*. And *Ge she* (*Dge bśes*) which in Sanskrit is *Kalyāṇamitra* was the degree conferred upon him by the University of Depung. He was a perfect gentleman and he endeared himself to all with whom he came in contact. He was really a profound scholar and a master of

¹ For the location of Depung see Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 216.



Fig. 1 — Ge she Thub ten she rab
Kalyanamitra Mumisanapratna

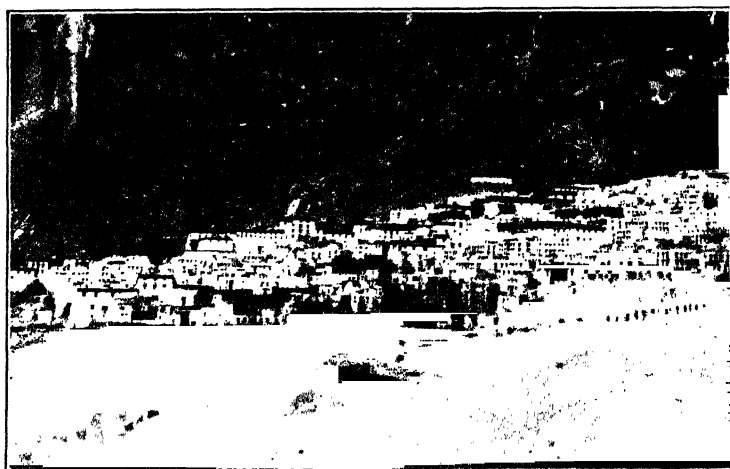


Fig. 2 — Depung, the Monastic University of Tibet

both the Kanjur and the Tanjur. He could easily quote and explain passages from any part of such difficult texts as the *Abhisamayālaṅkāraḥ* in their Tibetan versions.

Coming from Mongolia to Tibet he joined the University of Depung which is only within four miles from Lhasa (= *Lha sa* meaning in Sanskrit Devabhūmi). He lived there as a student for more than twenty years, and won the highest degree of *Ge she* or *Kalyāṇamitra*. In the Viśva-bhāratī he joined the Vidyābhavana which is meant for higher and post-graduate studies and research work, studying Pali and Sanskrit. He had a special mission. In Tibet nobody knows, as he said, anything of Pali Buddhism, and ~~he wanted~~ to introduce it into that country. With this object in view he translated into Tibetan jointly with the present writer the main contents of the Pali Tripiṭaka, he himself playing the rôle of a *Lotsaba*, i.e., 'a Tibetan translator of Sanskrit works,' and the present writer that of a *Paṇ*, i.e., 'an Indian Paṇḍit.'¹

He kindly gave me a photograph of his University and that is reproduced here. (Fig. 2). It shows only one half of the institution, as he told me. Yet one can understand from it how big it is. It is situated at the foot of a hill. With its numerous buildings it looks like a small town. It is divided into four sections in the middle of which there is a very big hall of congregation, called *Dug khang chen po* ('*dug khang chen po*'), *Mahāsanaśālā*. According to Sarat Chandra Das, it "contains 240 wooden pillars distributed over an area of 34,560 sq. ft." Here all teachers and students assemble to perform religious services.

As the *Ge she* said, the mode of teaching followed there is the same as in our Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās or *Tols* as they are called in Bengal. Students are very much encouraged to

¹ As a rule Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan jointly by an Indian and a Tibetan scholar. The Tibetan word *Lopaṇ* is used to mean both of them together, *Lo* being for *Lotsaba* and *paṇ* for a *Paṇḍita*.

discuss matters with one another, as is the case with Sanskrit students in our country.

The Ge she talked to us of his University, and Mr. Sujit Kumar Mukhopadhyaya who was then working with me as a student of the Vidyābhavana took down some notes. I am glad to utilise some of them here.

Students are accommodated in single-seated rooms. They come from different countries and live in different wards meant for different nationalities.

There are some restrictions regarding admission. No non-Buddhist is allowed to be admitted. Buddhists seeking admission are required to be monks or novices under training. Students of low origin, such as fishermen, ferryman, smiths and butchers, though Buddhists, are not allowed.

Students are to pay nothing for their boarding, lodging, tuition, all the expenses being met by the State.

Students of tender ages (6-12) are kept privately in charge of monks who instruct them. After two or three years of instruction they are placed before great Lamas for examination, and, if successful, they are made Śrāmaṇeras 'novices' and admitted into the monastery.

There are four Diploma or Degree Examinations for which candidates are to study for four years, or seven years, or twelve years, or twenty years. The highest Degree Examination is conducted in the famous Cho khang (*Chos khang*) 'Dharmamandira' of Lhasa before a Board of Examiners representing Depung and the other three big monasteries already mentioned.

Two Notes on The Cultural Contact between Java and Bengal

By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar

(A) The name-problem of Barabudur

The name of Barabudur has taxed the ingenuity of scholars from the time of Raffles onwards. Dr. Krom¹ points out that the name appears for the first time exactly in its modern form in a report of the *Babad Tanah Djawi* which has to be dated in 1709 or 1710 A.D. Though different parts of the name of Barabudur or their corrupted forms can be traced in the *Kawi*-language of Java, the full name signifying a complex temple of the type of Barabudur is wholly unknown to the literature of ancient times. For the sake of convenience, we shall divide the name into two parts, viz., Bara and Budur. Beginning with the first component part, we notice that Dr. Krom,² like Crawfurd, rightly objects to the conjecture of Raffles that it was derived from the name of the district known as Boro or Bara. Indeed it appears from similar cases elsewhere, that the district derived its name from the temple and not *vice versa*. Crawfurd could not suggest any plausible explanation, and, though he took Boro in the sense of a fish-trap, regarding the full name he could not come to any positive conclusion. In the dictionary of Dr. Juynboll,³ we find the word *Brāha* in the sense of 'important' or 'difficult,' but there is no mention of Bhara. Dr. Krom⁴ indeed says, that *Bhara* or *Bhāra* may mean 'numerous, many.' Admitting that the transition from *Bhara* or *Bhāra* or to *Bara* is phonetically tenable,⁵ the latter portion of the name would still

1 *Barabudur*, vol. I, p. 3.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 4ff.

3 *Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche woordenlijst*, p. 416.

4 *op. cit.*, p. 6.

5 In Old-Javanese, there is no sharp distinction between *a* and *ā*, as in Sanskrit. The change from *bh* to *b* may also be maintained. We

present difficulties. The suggestion of Dr. Poerbatjaraka that the word *Bara* is derived from the word *Vihāra* is open to the objection stated by Dr. Krom that "Barabudur is certainly not a *Vihāra* in the Old-Javanese sense and we wonder why the word *Vihāra* which, though used in Sumatra and Java is obsolete, should only be used in this one instance". Besides, there are more difficulties in explaining the transition from *Vihāra* or *Biara* to *Bara* than from *Bhara* or *Bhāra* to *Bara*. The other possibilities are that the word *Bara* is the same as *Para*, or a word that became *B(h)ra* in later Javanese. We think, however, that when *Bara* itself can be maintained as being equal to 'excellent' 'highest,' there is no reason ~~why we~~ should suggest some other word.

The crucial point of the present discussion is the word *Budur*. A majority of scholars have derived the name from Buddha the Saviour, or Bud(dh)a meaning 'old'. The first suggestion is open to the objection that it makes no provision for the particle *r* in *Budur*. Besides it has been noted that in the region where Barabudur stands, the name of Buddha is pronounced correctly. The other explanation is even less satisfactory, for as Dr. Krom says, Bud(dh)a meaning 'old' is no *ḥawi*, but only a modern Javanese word to describe pre-Islamic things. Krom himself after stating his opinion that "all efforts to interpret Barabudur are vain," offers a suggestion¹ that *Dharmapura* might be the old name of the stūpa. His grounds are two. Firstly, he thinks that we have before us not the name but one of its names, for it is most probable that the monument at the same time had a name in Sanskrit. Secondly, Old-Javanese foundation records often give names of places near the sanctuary, and in some records from Magelang in the neighbourhood of Barabudur, we get the name of *Dharmapura*. Some of these records are dated at a time when Barabudur undoubtedly existed. There is no improbability in these suggestions, but

should not, however, expect Sanskrit terms to have been always exactly pronounced in Java.

¹ *op. cit.*, p. 7.

we shall directly concern ourselves with Barabudur, which we suppose to be the corrupted form of *Baravajra*. In *ḥawi*-works, the word *vajra* has frequently been spelt as *bajra* without any change of meaning. According to the rules of phonetics, we can derive *vajar* from *vajra*, but never *badar* or *vadar* from *vajra*. In Pali, the corresponding form should be *vajja*. Phonology, therefore, does not support, in the present state of our knowledge, a transition from *vajra* to *badar* or *vadar*. On the other hand, *vadar*, is used even now by the Bengali people as a corrupted form of *vajra*. In popular dialects, *vadar* or *badar* may easily be transformed into *burdor*, *badar*, *vadar*, etc. To this has to be added the proof from the architecture of Barabudur itself so far as the successive receding terraces with re-entrant corners are concerned. At Pāhāḍpur we have probably an example of the initial process of Barabudur architecture. As for the old Javanese temple which reminded Fergusson¹ of the cells of Mamallapuram, we have extant examples of their prototypes in replicas over Bengali sculptures. It is noteworthy that successive receding terraces² with re-entrant corners are nowhere to be found except in Bengal and Java. It is true that we have nothing in Bengal comparable to the perforated *dagobas* of Barabudur, but that may be due to the ravages of climate and the vandalism of early Muslim conquerors. It is even possible that the above variation is due to the creative genius of Javanese artists, who were probably trained at Nalanda. At any rate there are reasons to believe that the architecture of Barabudur bears the stamp of Bengali influence. When studied along with other evidences about the cultural contact of Java and Bengal in the Pāla-Sailendra period of Indo-Javanese history, our observations will not appear improbable. To sum up, if the name of Barabudur is not accepted as a contribution of the Bengali Buddhists, let it be admitted that the term *vadar* or *budur* is possible as a corrupted form of

1 *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, vol. II, 1910, p. 425.

2 Successive receding terraces without re-entrant corners are known in Further India as well as in Bengal.

vajra. The whole word should then mean 'the highest or the excellent vajra,' which is quite in accord with the pervading spirit of the august structure, now covering almost the same area as the great pyramid of Gizeh.

(B) The palaeography of Java and Bengal

It is sometimes held¹ that the medial forms of the vowel *e* and *o*, as used in Bengali, being in sharp contrast to the western variety of the Nāgarī script, are to be considered as distinct Bengali types and that their occurrence in the epigraphy of Greater India betrays the influence of Bengal. The Bengali medial of the vowel *e* is placed to the left of the consonant in the form of a curve and when an additional horizontal bar is placed to the right, it becomes an example of the Bengali medial *o*. In Nāgarī, on the other hand, the medial *e* is placed on the top of the *mātrkā* to the right side of the consonant. The lower hook of this medial when continued downwards to the right side forms the medial of the Nāgarī *o*.

On an examination of the epigraphy of Southern India, however, we find that the so-called Bengali medials, viz., *e* and *o*, were prevalent there long before they penetrated into the inscriptions of Bengal. Thus, in the Kopparam plate of Pulakeśin II, plate (i), dated 631 A.D.² the medials are as in the so-called eastern variety of the Nāgarī type. In the inscriptions on the Dharmarāja Ratha at Mahavalipuram,³ which have to be dated in the first half of the 7th century A.D., the characteristics are the same. Coming to the inscriptions of Java, Cambodia and Campā, the earliest examples of such forms in Java are found in the Dinaja inscription of 760 A.D.⁴ To take some instances, we have *Kṛṣṇādbhutopalam* in the third line, *Śakābde* in the fourth line, *mārgaśirṣe ca māse adrārthe Śukravāre* in the fifth

1 Cf. Bijan Raj Chatterji, *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, p. 112ff.

2 *Ep., Ind.*, vol. XVIII, Pl. facing p. 259.

3 *Ibid.*, vol. X, Nos. 5, 9, 13, etc., Pl. facing p. 6.

4 Brandes—Krom. *Oudjavaansche Oorkonden*, Pl. I,

line. In Campā, the Vo-chanh Rock inscription,¹ c. 200 A.D., does not present the above forms, nor does the Honcuc inscription of c. 500 A.D.² The same is the case with the Myson stelae inscription of Bhadravarman.³ The first example of the so-called Bengali medials, is furnished by the Duong-Mong pedestal inscription of Prakāśadharmā, ruler of Campā.⁴ (c. 655-690 A.D.). The words *Vīṣṇo* and *Puruṣottamasya*, amongst others, occurring in the first line, are illustrations of this. The same is the case with the Trà-kiêu inscription of the same king.⁵ It is clear that these medial forms became current in Campān epigraphy at least from the time of the king Prakāśadharmā. In Cambodia the earliest example of the above forms, is found, in the Thma Kre inscription of the king Bhavavarman II, bearing the date 561 Śaka (=639 A.D.).⁶ Reference may be made to *gaṇite śakapāde, jhaṣodaye, candre*, etc., in the third line, *Kṛṣṇe, divaso*, etc., in the fourth line, and *mātro, mukṭaye*, etc., in the fifth line. It is noteworthy that all these inscriptions are of the pre-Pāla period, when no such forms were current in Bengal. Generally speaking, these forms were not prevalent in North Indian epigraphy before the eighth century A.D., but in Greater India and in Southern India they were established in the beginning of the 7th century A.D. We are of opinion that these penetrated into the epigraphy of Northern India, Java, Campā and Cambodia from Southern India, thus furnishing fresh proofs of the influence of Southern India on the culture of her colonies in the Far-East. We can also bring an additional proof to bear upon our conclusion. It is well-known that the medial form of *i* in the North Indian epigraphy is placed to the left of the consonant, forming a right angle with the *mātrkā*, over which a curve is placed with hollow inside. This

1 *B.E.F.E.O.*, t. XV, No. 2, p. 5.

2 *Ibid.*, t. II, p. 187.

3 *Ibid.*, Pl. facing p. 187 (cf. ll. 1, 3, 9 and 10).

4 *Ibid.*, t. XI, p. 262.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 263 (cf. ll. 1, 2).

6 *Ibid.*, t. IV, p. 691.

form is in sharp contrast to the South Indian medial, which forms something like a loop over the consonant. The latter form became widely current in the epigraphy of Java, Campā and Cambodia. To support our conclusion the Niḍagundi inscription of Amoghavarṣa I¹ and the Pikira grant of Siṃhavarman,² amongst many others, may be compared with the Po-Nagar stelae of Campā, dated 706 Śaka (=784 A.D.),³ the Yang Tikuh stelae inscription of Campā, dated 721 Śaka (=799 A.D.),⁴ the Glai Lomov inscription of 723 Śaka (=801 A.D.),⁵ the Po-Nagar temple inscription of 739 Śaka (=817 A.D.),⁶ etc. Many such examples can be cited. The loop-type medial of *i* is also met with in the *kawi*-inscriptions of Java. For this reference may be made to Cohen Stuart's *kawi-Oorkonden*, Plate I, inscription I, dated 841 Śaka (=919 A.D.), Pale 1A, inscription IV, dated 1316 Śaka (=1394 A.D.), the Dinaja inscription of 682 Śaka (=760 A.D.).⁷ Cambodian epigraphy also shows the same influence. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that these three medial forms, viz., *e*, *o* and *i*, penetrated into Greater India from Southern India.

Before we close this discussion we should note an interesting fact. In an inscription of Java, dated 1316 Śaka (=1394 A.D.), the medial form of *e* has been curiously presented; it appears like a rounded form of the Asokan *ja*.⁸ It is thus different from its corresponding form in the earlier *kawi*-epigraphy of Java. It can be explained in two ways, either it was a natural evolution or it was the result of the loss of contact with India. The first possibility is ruled out by the consideration that if Indian influence had been of

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VIII, Pl. facing p. 160.

3 *Notices et extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, etc. tome vingt-septième, 1^{re} partie, 2^e fascicule Pl. 23, inscr. no. XXVI A.

4 *Ibid.*, No. XXII A.

5 *Ibid.*, Pl. 20, ins. no. XXVIII.

6 *Ibid.*, Pl. 25, No. XXVIII.

7 Brandes-Krom, *op. cit.*, Pl. I.

8 *Vide* Cohen Stuart, *Kawi Oorkonden*, Pl. I, inscription IV, Cf. *Wruhané*, *parasamé* in line 1; *gawé*, *yen°*, *°ngong*, *déné* in line 2, etc.

sufficient importance in the last decade of the 14th century A.D., the medial would not have assumed such a curious form as almost to assume a new type. The second possibility is countenanced by consideration of the general political conditions of India and Java at that time. The evidence coming from the side of art is equally conclusive on this point. In the epoch of Prāmbānān-Barabudur, Indian ideals prevail to a great extent; in the epoch of Panataran, native styles are vigorously represented in the Rāmāyaṇa-reliefs of the latter temple. The *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (83·9) no doubt refers to Indian immigrants into Java, but the evidences of art and palaeography are more conclusive. The references to Bengal in the later romantic literature of Java, viz., the Pañji romances, are but faint echoes of previous glory, and hence we may leave them out of consideration. The evidence of the above-mentioned chronicle may be placed in 1365 A.D., while the inscription mentioned above is placed in 1394 A.D. When considered together, it appears that Indian immigrants into Majapahit in 1365 were not sufficient in numbers to leave pronounced influence after Hayām Wuruk's time.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Bijdragen tot de Taal— Land— en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel 90, Eerste Aflevering, 1933.

- A. J. BERNET KEMPERS.—*The Bronzes of Nālandā and Hindu-Javanese Art*, pp. 1-88. After an exhaustive and penetrating study of the bronzes of Nālandā the author concludes that, "while partly exhibiting a distinct resemblance to some bronzes from Java, they belong to Pala art."
- J. GONDA.—*Tumura's en Cavaara's*, pp. 167-171. According to data given in the Purāṇas and the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa the Tum(b)uras were a part of the Cavaara's and were probably a Muṇḍā people.

B.G.

Ibid., Tweede en Derde Aflevering, 1933.

- C. C. BERG.—*De Çiwa-Hymne van de Arjunawiwāha*, pp. 173-238. A close and comparative study of the Śiva hymns contained in the Arjunavivāha along with their Balinese and late Javanese versions.
- F. H. VAN NAERSSSEN.—*De Saptopapatti*, pp. 239-258. The author discusses the seven officers (*saptopapatti*) often referred to in the Nāgarakṛtāgama and in this connection gives a better reading and explanation of Nāgarakṛtāgama 83, 2 than those given by Kern.
- TH. VAN ERP.—*Een Morkwaardige Garoeḍa-Voorstelling op een Hindoe-Javaansche bronzen hangklok*, pp. 259-265. The author discusses the figure of Garuḍa on a bronze hanging bell. The figure is very peculiar in several respects.
- W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Oudheidkundige aanteekeningen*, pp. 267-299. Among other things, in these antiquarian notes

the author describes a remarkable statue of the bull Nandin with a dagger on its right side under the girdle.

- H. H. JUYNBOLL.—*Vertaling van Sarga XXI van het Oud-javaansche Rāmāyaṇa*, pp. 301-308. Translation of *Sarga XXI* of Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa.
- J. GONDA.—*Agastyparawa, een Oud-Javaansch proza-geschrift*, pp. 329-419. Critical edition of the Old-Javanese prose text with glossary and index of proper names.

B.G.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal— Land— en Volkenkunde,
1933, Deel LXXIII, Aflevering 2 en 3.

- IR. J. L. MOENS.—*Het Berlijnsche Ardhanārī-beeld en de bijzettingsbeelden van Kṛtanāgara*, pp. 123-150. The Jina burial statue of Kṛtanāgara, described in Song 43: 6 of the Nāgarakṛtāgama must have been an Amoghapāśa-Ardhanārī with an Akṣobhya in the head-dress and not the "śivaistic" burial statute of Harihara-Ardhanārī found by Stutterheim in the Ethnological Museum of Berlin. It is very probable that the Vajrayānist Kṛtanāgara, called Śrī Śivabuddha or Mahākṣobhya, founded a Śaiva-Buddhistic pantheon in which a complete fusion of the two elements took place.
- K. C. CLUCC.—*Een relief in het Bataviaasch Museum, afkomstig van Tjaṇḍi Tigawangi*, pp. 156-158. The Śaṭcakra, a symbol which occurs on the Sudarśanacakra of Viṣṇu-temples, is to be found on a Javanese relief of the year 1415 A.D.
- W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Naschrift op het art. van. Ir. J. L. Moens*, pp. 292-306. Criticism of the above article of Moens.

B.G.

^e
Djawa, 13 Jaargang no. 4, Augustus 1933.

- W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Is Tjaṇḍi Baraboeḍér een Maṇḍala?* pp. 233-237. After explaining what is meant by *maṇḍala* the author concludes that the base of Baraboeḍer may indeed be said to be of the form of a *maṇḍala*, pro-

vided it is borne in mind that there were purposes too which determined its structure.

B.G.

Bulletin de l'École Française d' Extrême-Orient, Tome XXXI, 1931

George Coedès *Études Cambodgiennes*, pp. 1-23.

The author deals here with two Sanskrit inscriptions from Fou-nan. Till now the inscriptions of Bhavavarman I and Citrasena Mahendravarman, the two conquerors of Fou-nan, have been considered to be the earliest epigraphic records of Cambodia, but M. Coedès proves mainly on palaeographic grounds that these two inscriptions are still older. The first and the earlier one commemorates the consecration of an image of the foot-prints of Viṣṇu by the 'king's son' Guṇavarman of the Kaundinya family, and the second, beginning with a Buddhistic invocation, glorifies the king Rudravarman who appointed the son of a Brahman as the inspector of royal property. The inscription mentions Jayavarman as the father of Rudravarman and M. Coedès identifies him with the king of Fou-nan known from Chinese sources to be reigning in 514 A.D.

F. D. K. BOSCH.—*Notes archéologiques*, pp. 485-497.

(1) The ornamental motif of 'the arch and the hind' found both in Java and Campā is explained through Chinese influence, though the earliest origin of the motif is to be sought in India. (2) The *Liṅgodbhavamūrti* of Śiva shows several peculiar features in Indo-China.

B.G.

**THE
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THE JOURNAL

OF THE

GREATER INDIA SOCIETY

VOL. I

JULY, 1934

No. 2

On the Origin of the Śailendras of Indonesia

BY

Dr. G. Coedès.

After the publication of my article upon "*The kingdom of Śrīvijaya*" in *BEFEO.*, 6 (1918), Professors Vogel¹ and Krom² have each on his part developed a theory based upon a fact which I had pointed out only incidentally: the mention of the dynasty of the Śailendras in face B. of the inscription of Ligor (then called by mistake the inscription of Vieng Sa). This theory consists in considering the Sumatran kings of Śrīvijaya to have belonged from the beginning of their history to this dynasty of Śailendra and in admitting the equation Śailendra = the king of Śrīvijaya. Recalling the fact that the inscription of Kalasan (778 A.D.) has for its author a king, who was the "ornament of the Śailendra dynasty," Dr. Krom deduced in 1919 the existence of a Sumatran period in the history of Java—a period during which were constructed the great monuments of Central Java. This theory which was reproduced in his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* published in 1926, remained the standard

1 *Het koninkrijk, Śrīvijaya*, Bijdr. 75 (1919), p. 626.

2 *De Sumatraansche periode der Javaansche Geschiedenis*, Leyden 1919.

article till 1929, when Dr. Stutterheim¹ discovered in an inscription of the Kědu province the name of the king of Kalasan in a list of sovereigns of the Javanese dynasty of Matarām beginning with the name of Sañjaya, the author of the inscription of Caṅgal in 732 A.D. This discovery placed everything in doubt, since it became thenceforth difficult to consider a descendant of Sañjaya as belonging at the same time to the line of the kings of Śrīvijaya. Contradicting the theory of Dr. Krom, Dr. Stutterheim proposed to consider the Śailendras as a Javanese dynasty that had exercised authority over Śrīvijaya during a certain period. Against the "Sumatran period in Java," supposed by Krom, Stutterheim proposed a "Javanese period in Sumatra." Since that time each has supported his own theory: Krom has reproduced his theory in the second edition of his *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (1932) and in the archaeological notes which he published from time to time in the *Bijdragen* or in the *Tijdschrift*; Stutterheim seems to consider his views to be the expression of truth itself.²

Dr. R. C. Majumdar has just devoted two articles³ to the Śailendras which complete each other and which, I think, solves, without taking a clear part in the controversy, this irritating problem. He completely dissociates the Śailendras from Śrīvijaya; he disputes the identification of Śrīvijaya with San-fo-ts'i of the Chinese and Zābug or the empire of the Mahārāja of the Arab geographers—these two regions corresponding (according to him) to the empire of the Śailendras; finally, he proposes to place the cradle and the seat of power of the Śailendras in the Malay Peninsula, though he does not completely discard the possibility that the seat might have been found in Java, specially in the 8th century.

1 Een belangrijke oorkonde uit de Kědoe, *Tijdschrift*, 67 (1927), p. 172—*A Javanese period in Sumatran History*, Surakarta, 1929.

2 Cf. among other things, *De Verhouding tusschen Śrīvijaya en Matarām in de 8e eeuw A.D.* (Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen, XVI), *Bijdr.*, 86 (1930), p. 567.

3 The Śailendra Empire, *Journal of the Greater India Society* 1 (1934); *Les rois Sailendra de Suvarṇadīpa*, *BEFEO.*, XXXIII.

The arguments used by Dr. Majumdar in support of his thesis are not equally convincing. I gladly recognise that the identification of She-li-fo-She (Śrīvijaya) with San-fo-ts'i is not certain either phonetically (inspite of the attempts of Aurousseau¹ to justify the same), nor historically, as the presence of the two names is attested at different dates. I recognise also the force of the argument derived from my previous works² which seeks to place the seat of the kingdom of Jāvaka and consequently of Zābug in the Malay Peninsula.³ Without, however, wishing to refer everything to Palembang⁴ of which the archæology is still so poor in spite of recent discoveries,⁵ I feel obliged to record my protest, when Dr. Majumdar writes,⁶ "The definite identification of Śrīvijaya with Palembang does not rest at all upon any solid basis." Nevertheless, it is from Palembang, that comes the inscription relating to the foundation of Śrīvijaya,⁷ while the inscriptions of Bangka and of Karang Brahi (in the

1 BEFEO., XXIII, p. 477.

2 *A propos de la chute du royaume de Śrīvijaya*, Bijdr. 83 (1927), p. 459.

3 In favour of the localisation of San-fo-ts'i in the Malay Peninsula, there is one argument, which Dr. Majumdar does not seem to be aware of. The Chinese charts of Father Ricci (beginning of the 17th century) place Kieou-Kiang and San-fo-ts'i in the middle of the Peninsula (L. Giles, *Translation from the Chinese world-map of Father Ricci*, The Geographical Journal, LIII, 1919, pp. 20-21). But the charts give fantastic localisations for this region; besides, their late date takes away much of the weight of their evidence.

4 Everybody (including myself) has had difficulty in losing sight of a note in my first article on Śrīvijaya (BEFEO, XVIII, 6. p. 3, note 5) where I cautiously said, "This expression, 'The kingdom of Palembang', which will frequently occur in course of the present article, is a convenient designation: in employing it, however, I do not wish to affirm that the capital of this State was always at Palembang."

5 N. J. Krom, *Antiquities of Palembang*, Ann. Bibl. of Indian Archæology, 1931, p. 29; Devaprasad Ghosh, *Early art of Śrīvijaya*, Journal of the Greater India Society, I (1934) p. 30.

6 BEFEO., XXXIII.

7 This hypothesis of Prof. Ph. J. van Ronkel (*Acta Orientalia*, II (1924), p. 21) which Dr. Krom (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, p. 119) and myself (BEFEO., XXX, p. 37) did not believe to be maintainable,

hinterland of Jambi) in the name of the King of Śrīvijaya' seem to confirm this localisation well. Finally, when Dr. Majumdar claims that Yavabhūmi in the Nālandā inscription is a simple equivalent of Suvarṇadvīpa, which itself might be a vague term signifying the regions beyond the sea,² he neglects the testimony of the inscription of Čaṅgal in which Yavadvīpa could not reasonably signify any other place than the island of Java.

Whatever might be thought of these questions which I do not want to treat here for want of new evidence capable of being utilized for the discussion, there is one point in the article of Dr. Majumdar, which I think to be excellent and fruitful: this is the separation of the Śailendras and Śrīvijaya before the 11th century. I am so much the more eager to give him my support on this point, as Dr. Majumdar attributes to me "the hypothesis that the king of the Śailendra dynasty mentioned in face B of Ligor inscription was identical with the king of Śrīvijaya to whom face A of the same stèle refers". Although I had not formulated this hypothesis in a sufficiently precise manner in 1918,³ I willingly recognise my part of the responsibility for the identification of the Śailendras with the kings of Śrīvijaya.

Now, it is a fact (and Dr. Majumdar has the merit of bringing it out clearly) that the two faces of the stèle of Ligor are absolutely independent of each other.⁴ Face A

has been rendered possible by the interesting remarks of Dr. R. A. Kern. *Enkele aantekeningen op G. Coedès' uitgave van de Maleische inschriften van Śrīvijaya*, Bidr. 88 (1931), p. 568 (Cf. esp. p. 511).

1 G. Coedès, *Les inscriptions malaises de Śrīvijaya*, BEFEO., XXX p. 29.

2 H. Kern, *Verspr. Geschr.*, VII p. 115.

3 After indicating that according to the Great Charter of Leyden, Māravijayottuṅgavarman, king of Katāha and Śrīvijaya belongs to Śailendravamśa, I added, "Now the unfinished inscription incised upon the second face of the stèle of Vieng Sa (*read* Ligor) states precisely that the king Śrī Mahārāja was descended from Śailendravamśa. This proves at any rate that in connecting Śrīvijaya of the stèle of Vieng Sa with Śrīvijaya of the charter of Rājarāja I, I do not depart from the right path in my researches.

(dated 775 A.D.) in the name of the King of Śrīvijaya gives a complete text. Face B commencing with the word 'Svasti' gives the beginning of a new text in a different script and a little later date, which could have been added by a king having no connection with that of face A.

In reality the epigraphic evidence mentioning Śrīvijaya and the Śailendras between the end of the 7th century and the beginning of the 11th divides itself in the following fashion :—

Dates	Mention of Śrīvijaya	Mention of Śailendra
685 690	Inscription in Old Malay from Palembang, Bangka etc.	
775	Stèle of Ligor, face A.	
After 775		Stèle of Ligor, face B.
778		Inscription of Kalasan
782		„ „ Kēlurak
ca. 850		Nālandā Plaque
1006	Great Charter of Leyden	

It will be seen from the above list that it is impossible, according to sound methods, to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrīvijaya belonged to the Śailendra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrīvijaya. All that we can conclude from the above is that a little after 775, a Śailendra, probably that of the Kēlurak inscription,¹ incised at Ligor the beginning of an inscription upon the reverse of a stèle bearing on the other side a text emanating from Śrīvijaya and that in 1006 the king of Kaṭāha and of Śrīvijaya was a

1 The Śailendra king of the Kēlurak inscription of 782 A.D. bears the epithet *vairivaravīramardana* "destroyer of the best of enemy-heroes"(a) The Śailendra king of face B of the Ligor stèle bears that of

Śailendra. It follows from this (and this should have been observed by Dr. Majumdar) that the controversy between Drs. Krom and Stutterheim is useless. The question of ascertaining if there was a Sumatran period in Java or a Javanese period in Sumatra, is badly presented, or rather it does not present itself at all. The existence of the Śailendras in Sumatra is not certainly attested before the 11th century. For the previous centuries one cannot attribute with Dr. Krom a Sumatran origin to the Śailendras of Javanese inscriptions of the 8th century, nor attribute with Dr. Krom to the Javanese Śailendras a supremacy over Sumatra during the same period. If the article of Dr. Majumdar serves to settle the difference by non-suiting both the adversaries, it will not be written in vain.

As regards the origin of the Śailendras Dr. Majumdar proposes to connect them with the Śaila and Śailodbhava dynasties of Orissa. "We do not lack the indication"; he writes at the end of his article, "to make us suppose that the Śailendras originated from Kalinga, and that they extended their power over the Far-East through the intermediary of Lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula". I would indicate here another possibility which, besides, does not exclude the hypothesis of Dr. Majumdar, and which could even complete the same.

Śailendra means "the king of the mountain". Now Indo-China in the first six centuries of the Christian era knew an empire governed by some kings bearing this title: this was Fu-nan. As early as 1911¹ Dr. L. Finot, retouching a

aśeśasaroārighamada (b), "impassioned for the murder of his innumerable enemies." These two inscriptions seem to be something other than the banal epithets of *praśasti*, since the Nālandā charter, referring no doubt to the same personage, states that he bore a name (perhaps indigenous) equivalent to that of "the destroyer of enemy-heroes". (*Śrīvīravairimathānānugatābhīdhāṇaḥ*) (c).

(a) *Tijdschrift*, vol. 68, p. 18.

(b) *BEFEO.*, XVIII, 6, p. 30 (corrected reading).

(c) *E.I.*, XVII, p. 323.

1 B.C.A.I., 1911, p. 29.

hypothesis of Gerini,¹ proposed to find in the name of Fu-nan (ancient pronunciation:—*b'u-nam*) a transcription of khmèr *bnam* (modern: *phnom*) meaning "mountain". More recently² he has suggested that "this name might correspond to an indigenous expression "kuruñ bnam", "king of the mountain", which the Chinese interpreted to mean "king of (the country) of Bnam". The Sanskrit inscriptions of Cambodia characterize in fact on different occasions the ancient sovereign of Fu-nan by terms signifying "king of the mountain". To the inscription of Han Cei (st. 10 face A., st. 5 face B.,)³ mentioned by Dr. Finot, I can add the testimony of the unpublished inscription of Kūk Prāl Kōt⁴ which calls them Śailarāja.

The kings of Fu-nan claimed the title of emperor. The inscription of Bhabavarman I⁵ gives one of them the title of *Sārvabhauma* which is an equivalent of *Caṅravartin*; the digraphic inscriptions of Yaśovarman I designate them by the expression *Adhirāja of Vyādhapura*.⁶ Now face B. of the Ligor stèle tells us that the king bore the title of Śrī Mahārāja "to signify that he derived his origin from Śailendravarṇsa," *Śailendravarṇsaṣaṇḍrabha[va]nigadataḥ Śrīmahārājanāma*. This reading and this translation are the result of a corection⁷ by Mr. Mus of the faulty text of the original which reads *prabhanigadataḥ*. Mr. Mus remarks that "the proposed interpretation⁸ furnishes the most explicit and much the most

1 *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 207.

2 *J.A.*, vol. 210 (1927), p. 186.

3 The Sanskrit term is *parvatabhūpāla* (ISCC., pp. 13 and 16).

4 Coedès Inventory, No. 90:—

"Śrīśānavarmā nṛpatiḥ prājñarataikaṣaṇḍrayaḥ
ya āsit kṛāntabhuvonaś=Śailarājasamunnatiḥ."

"King Śānavarman who found his only pleasure in the company of sages, attained, after traversing the earth, the exalted position of king of the Mountain (the Himālaya) [or of a "king of the mountain, Śailarāja]." The word—play makes equal sense if it is concluded from the above that it was Śānavarman I, who consummated the ruin of the power of Fu-nan and substituted for it that of Kambuja. (BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 130).

5 BEFEO., XXVIII, p. 130.

6 *Ibid.*

7 BEFEO., XXIX, p. 448.

ancient testimony that is to be found for the special sense of the Indian title of Śrī Mahārāja which characterized the Śailendravaṃśa according to the Arab travellers". While adopting *in toto* the very happy correction of Mr. Mus, I am tempted to translate it somewhat differently the better to render the value of the adverbial suffix *taḥ* which rather indicates an origin, a cause than an end to attain; and, I believe, I am nearer to the text in translating "bearing the title of Śrī Mahārāja, because of the mention of his origin which is the Śailendravaṃśa". The text seems to wish to say that it was only the announcement (*nigada*) of his origin that brought him the imperial title of Śrī Mahārāja, or in other words that in order to bear this title he must have issued from the Śailendravaṃśa, and must have been of the line of "the king of the mountain".

This formula makes sense only if this line enjoyed a great prestige such as was the case with the royal dynasty of Fu-nan. The ejection of this dynasty from its capital of Bà Phnom is not anterior to Īśānavarman I (ca. 620). The Chinese annalists tell us that the kings of Fu-nan were compelled to migrate more to the south, to the town of Na-fu-na¹ where they vegetated perhaps till the end of the 7th century.² Now it was in the first part of the following century that there appeared in Java, the founder of this dynasty of Matarām, to which belonged the donor of Kalasan, Rakai Panāṅkaran, "ornament of the Śailendra dynasty." Must we suppose that these Javanese kings claimed to be the descendants, or the inheritors of whatsoever title of the Śailārāja of Fu-nan? One fact seems to justify this hypothesis. The accession of the Śailendras of Java in the 8th century coincides with this obscure period in the history of Cambodia, during which the Chinese historians inform us that the country was split up in twain, and the Arab geographers relate that the khmér country had troubles with Zâbug and was compelled finally to accept its suzerainty.

These facts accord well enough with the hypothesis that

1 BEFEO., III, p. 274.

2 J.A., vol. 210 (1917), p. 186.

the descendants, real or fictitious, of the emperors of Fu-nan after having carved out a dominion in Java in the first part of the 8th century afterwards tried to claim back their ancient possessions. It became then an aggressive return towards the Indo-Chinese coast which was abandoned at the end of the 7th century to the power of the Kambujas, and this represented the campaign of the king of Zâbug in the khmèr country mentioned by Abū Zayd,¹ the Javanese incursions of 764, 774 and 787 into southern Campa² and the Javanese conquest of Ligor at the same epoch.³

If the Śailendras of Java claimed connection with ancient Fu-nan, one would better understand than has been the case up to the present, the manner in which Jayavarman II after his return from Java⁴ established his authority over Cambodia at the beginning of the 9th century. To shake off the tutelage "the king of the mountain" to which this title give precisely the quality of emperor *cakravartin*, he should become one himself: and this was why he installed his capital upon Mt. Mahendra (Phnon Kulên), instituting at the same time the cult of devarāja, for, as the inscription of Sdök kāk thoṃ, says,⁵ "Kambujadeśa was no more dependent on

1 Ferrand, *Textes géographiques*, I, p. 85ff.

2 Dr. Majumdar has no doubt reason to view this not merely (as has been very often said), as the simple raids of Malay pirates but as veritable expeditions organised by the Javanese forces (*Javavala*, according to the inscriptions of Campa).

3 I have indicated above (p. 66 f.n.) the reason which has led me to identify the king of the Ligor stèle, face B, with that of the Nālandā charter bearing the title of king of Java, (*Yavabhūmipāla*). The existence of an incomplete inscription on the back of the stèle of Śrīvijaya is well explained through the hypothesis of a rapid conquest followed by a reverse. A king reigning peacefully at Ligor would have had the time to find a new stone and cause his inscription to be incised thereon to the very end.

4 A new argument in favour of the identification of *Javā* in the inscription of Sdök kāk thoṃ with the island of Java has just been given us by Mme. de Coral Rémusat who points out "the Javanese influences upon the art of Roluôh (9th century)." (*J.A.*, vol. 223, 1923, p. 190. Cf. *Indian Art and Letters*, N.S., vol. VII, 1933, p. 114).

5 BEFEO., XV, 2, p. 88.

Javā and there was [in this kingdom] no more than one single sovereign who was *cakravartin*." If the more or less effective suzerainty of distant Java had been only the result of expeditions at the end of the preceding century, there would have been no need (I think) of so many ceremonies for its liberation. But if the Śailendras of Java played the part of inheritors of *Kuruṇ Bṇam*, the ancient occupiers of the soil, it would be a different affair, and a new ritual associated with a new mountain would be necessary. When Jayavarman II and his successors ceased to reside at Mahendraparvata, they transported the sacred mountain to the centre of their successive capitals. At Hariharālaya (group of Rolûoh), the "central mountain" was the pyramid of Bàkoṇ; at Yaśodharapura (Aṅkor I), it was Bàkhèn; at Chok Gargyaz (Kòh Ker) it was the Pràṇ du Pràsàt Thom; at Aṅkor they were successively the Phimānākās, the Bāphûon and the Bāyon.

I hope I shall not be misunderstood regarding the sense of the thesis sketched here. I do not claim that the Śailendras of Java had been the authentic descendants of the sovereigns of Fu-nan. But after noticing on the one hand a synchronism between the fall of the kings of Fu-nan and the accession of the Śailendras and stating on the other hand that the attitude of Jayavarman II towards Java is understood better if he had to break the ancient bonds and an old tradition of several centuries, I think I have been able to formulate the hypothesis that after the eviction of the kings of Fu-nan from Indo-China, a Javanese princely family, having more or less real ties with them, resumed their dynastic title of "king of the mountain" and at the same time made their own the political and territorial claims which this title implied. This hypothesis does not exclude that of Dr. Majumdar regarding the Indian origin of the Śailendras, but it completes and enriches the same by bringing the Javanese Śailendras into touch with the Śailodbhavas of Orissa, no more directly but through the intermediary of the Śailarāja of Fu-nan.

The Struggle between the Śailendras and the Cholas*

By Dr. R. C. Majumdar

Throughout the eleventh century A.D. the outstanding fact in the history of the Śailendras is an unceasing struggle with the powerful Chola rulers of South India.

The Chola State was one of the three kingdoms in South India which flourished from a hoary antiquity. It extended along the Coromandel coast, and its traditional boundaries were the Pennar river in the north, the Southern Vellaru river on the south and up to the borders of Coorg on the west. The rise of the Pallavas within this area kept the Cholas in check for a long time. But the Cholas re-asserted their ascendancy from the commencement of the tenth century A.D. With the accession of Parāntaka I in 907 A.D. the Cholas entered upon a career of aggressive imperialism. By a succession of great victories, Rājārāja the Great (985-1012 A.D.) made himself the lord paramount of Southern India. His still more famous son Rājendra Chola (1012-1039 A.D.) raised the Chola power to its climax and his conquests extended as far as Bengal in the north.

The Cholas were also a great naval power and this naturally brought them into contact with Indonesia. At first there existed a friendly relation between the Chola kings and the Śailendra rulers. An inscription written partly in Sanskrit (1044 A.D.) and partly in Tamil (1046 A.D.), the so-called Large Leyden Grant, tells us that in the 21st year of Rājārāja Rājakeśarivarman (i.e., Rājārāja the Great), Śrī Māra vijayottuṅgavarman, king of Kaṭāha and Śrī Viṣaya, and belonging to Śailendra dynasty, granted a village to a Buddhist monastery at Nāgīpaṭṭana which was constructed

by his father Cūlamanivarman and named after him as Cūlamanivarmavihāra. In the Tamil portion the Chola king endorses the grant,¹ referring to the royal donor as king of Kiḍāra and Kaḍāra.

This interesting record naturally recalls the Nālandā copper-plate of the time of Devapāla. In both cases a Śailendra king grants villages to a Buddhist temple, erected in India, through the favour and courtesy of the Indian king. Both furnish us with names of Śailendra kings not known from indigenous sources.

Fortunately the present inscription can be precisely dated, for the 21st year of Rājarāja falls in 1005 A.D. We thus come to know that Śrī Māravijayottuṅgavarman, son of Cūḍāmaṇivarman was on the throne in 1005 A.D.² To G. Coedès belongs the credit of tracing these two names in the Chinese Annals.³ The History of the Sung dynasty gives us the following details about them.³

"In the year 1003 the king Se-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fu-ma-tiau-hwa (Śrī Cūḍāmaṇivarmadeva) sent two envoys to bring tribute; they told that in their country a Buddhist temple had been erected in order to pray for the long life of the emperor.

In the year 1008 the king Se-ri-ma-la-p'i (Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman) sent three envoys to present tribute."

Comparing the Chinese and Indian dates we can easily put the death of Cūḍāmaṇivarman and the accession of his son Śrī-Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman some time between 1003 and 1005 A.D. So the relations between the Chola and Śailendra kings were quite friendly at the commencement of the eleventh century A.D. It is interesting to note that while the Sanskrit portion of the Leyden Grant refers to Śrī-

1 The inscription was edited by Burgess in *Arch. Surv. South India*, vol. IV, p. 206.

The Sanskrit portion is dated in 1044 and the Tamil portion in 1046 A.D. The Tamil portion gives "Sulamaṇipadma" in place of 'Culamanivarman' as the name of the king and the Vihāra.

2 BEFEO., Vol. XVIII, No. 6.

3 Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 65 JA., 11-XX (1922), p. 19.

Māra-vijayottuṅgavarman as king of Kaṭāha and Śrī-Viṣaya, the Tamil portion refers to him only as the king of Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra. In spite of Ferrand's criticism¹ there is much to be said in support of the view of G. Coedès, that Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra or Kiḍāra are all equivalents of Kedah in the western part of the Malay Peninsula.² It would then follow, that while the king Māra-vijayottuṅgavarmadeva ruled over both Śrī-vijaya and Malay Peninsula, as is also testified to by the Arab writers, the Cholas regarded them rather as rulers of Malay Peninsula with suzerainty over Śrī-vijaya.

There were also commercial relations between the two countries. An old Tamil poem refers to ships with merchandise coming from Kalāgam to Kāviriṇṇipūmpaddinam, the great port situated at the mouth of the Kaveri river.³ Kalāgam, which a later commentator equates with Kaḍāram, denotes in any case Kedah in Malay Peninsula which the Arabs designate as Kala.

The friendly relation between the Chola kings and the Śailendra rulers did not last long. In a few years hostilities broke out and Rājendra Chola sent a naval expedition against his mighty adversary beyond the sea. The details preserved in the Chola records leave no doubt that the expedition was crowned with brilliant success and various parts of the empire of the Śailendras were reduced by the mighty Chola emperor. The reason for the outbreak of hostility and the different factors that contributed to the stupendous success of the most arduous undertaking of the Chola emperor are unknown to us. Fortunately we have a fair idea of the time when the expedition took place and we also know the name of the Śailendra king who was humbled by the Indian emperor. These and other details are furnished by the records of the Cholas, and a short reference to these is necessary for a proper understanding of the subject.

1 *JA.*, 11-XX (1922) pp. 50-51.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 19 ff.

3 Quoted by Kanaksabhai in *Madras Review* (August, 1902). Also cf. K. Aiyangar's remarks in *Journ. of Ind. Hist.*, vol. II, p. 347.

1. Several inscriptions at Malurpatna dated in the 23rd year of king Rājārāja, record that he was pleased to destroy the ships (at) Kandalur Salai.....and twelve thousand ancient islands of the sea.¹

The 23rd year of Rājārāja corresponds to A.D. 1007. It is therefore reasonable to presume that the Cholas possessed a powerful navy, and started on a deliberate policy of making maritime conquests early in the eleventh century A.D.

2. The Tiruvalangadu plates, dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Chola (1017-8 A.D.), contain the following verse :²

1 Nos. 128, 130, 131, 132 of Channapatna Taluq, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. IX. trans., pp. 159-161.

2 *South Ind. Ins.*, vol. III, Part III, pp. 383 ff. The inscription consists of 271 lines in Sanskrit and 524 lines in Tamil. Both the parts are expressly dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Chola. But the Sanskrit portion is usually regarded as being engraved at a later date. When the inscription was first noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey* (1903-4, pp. 234-5), the following remarks were made: "The Tamil portion of Tiruvalangadu plates is dated in the 6th year of Rājendra Chola's reign (A.D. 1016-17) and the Sanskrit portion also refers to the grant having been made in the same year. But the conquest of Kaṭāha, which, as we know from other inscriptions of the king, took place in the 15th or 16th year of his reign, is mentioned in the Sanskrit portion. It has therefore to be concluded that, as in the Leyden Grant, the Sanskrit *Praśasti* of the Tiruvalangadu plates was added subsequently to the Tamil portion which actually contains the king's order (issued in the 6th year of his reign)." This argument has, however, very little force, for, as we now know, there is no reason to place the expedition to Kaṭāha in the 15th or 16th year and, as we shall see later, an inscription of the 13th year of the king refers to these over-sea conquests in detail.

Hultzsch, while editing the inscription, expresses the same view in a modified manner. Referring to the conquests recorded in the Sanskrit portion he observes: "These conquests of Rājendra Chola are mostly recorded in the historical introductions to his Tamil inscriptions dated from and after the 13th year of his reign. It may here be noted that the Tamil introduction given in lines 131 to 142 below is naturally the shorter one, since it belongs to the sixth year of the king's reign; and since it does not include a list of all the conquests mentioned above it has been suggested that the Sanskrit portion of the grant which includes the conquests of the later years must be a subsequent addition." (*South Ind. Ins.*, vol. III, p. 389).

"Having conquered Kaṭāha with (the help of) his valiant forces that had crossed the ocean, (and) having made all kings bow down (before him), this (king) (Rājendra Chola) protected the whole earth for a long time" (v. 123).

3. An inscription at the temple of Malur in the Bangalore district, dated in the 13th year of Rājendra Chola (A.D. 1024-5), gives a detailed account of his over-sea conquests.¹

4. The same details are also given in the Tanjore inscription of Rājendra Chola dated in his 19th year (A.D. 1030-31) in the following words;² "and (who) (Rājendra Chola) having despatched many ships in the midst of the

It must be observed, however, that none of the records of Rājendra Chola gives any specific date for any of his conquests, and we can only conclude that the conquests must have been made before the date of the inscription which records them. It is, therefore, too risky to assert that any particular conquest is of a later date.

On the other hand, a comparison of the records shows that they contain stereotyped official list of conquests repeated in exactly the same words, with additions from time to time in records of later years. This, no doubt, is a strong argument in favour of the belief that the 'additional conquests' took place after the date of the last inscription which does not mention them.

Judging from the above the conquest of Kaṭāha in the sixth year of Rājendra Chola is doubtful, as it is not included in the list of conquests in inscriptions dated in the 9th and 13th years of his reign. As will be shown below, the conquest of Kaṭāha with a number of other states beyond the sea is mentioned in inscriptions dated in the 13th and 20th years of the reign.

If, however, the Sanskrit portion of the Tiruvalaṅgadu plates were composed after these conquests, it is very difficult to believe that the author who has devoted 40 verses to the conquests of Rājendra Chola, would have merely referred to these mighty exploits in only one verse.

On the whole, therefore, until more specific evidence is available, we accept the clear deduction from the inscription that a naval expedition was sent to Kaṭāha. For reasons given below, it has to be distinguished from the more elaborate and successful expeditions of the 13th year, referred to in Channapatna and Tanjore Inscriptions.

1 No. 84 of Channapatna Taluq (*Ep. Carn.*, IX, pp. 148-50).

2 *South Ind. Ins.*, vol. II, pp. 105 ff. (Some corrections were made later, in *Ep., Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 231-2).

rolling sea and having caught Saṅgrāma-vijayottuṅgavarman, the king of Kaḍāram, along with (his) vehicles, (viz) rutting elephants, (which were as impetuous as) the sea in fighting, (took) the large heap of treasures, which (that king) had rightfully accumulated; the (arch called) Vidyādhara-toraṇa at the "war-gate", of the extensive city of the enemy; the "Jewel-gate", adorned with great splendour; the "gate of large jewels", Vijayam, of great fame; Paṇṇai, watered by the river; the ancient Malaiyūr (with) a fort situated on a high hill; Māyirudiṅgam, surrounded by the deep sea (as) a moat; Ilaṅgāśogam (i.e., Laṅkasuka), undaunted (in) fierce battles; Māppappāḷam, having abundant high waters as defence; Mevilimbaṅgam, having fine walls as defence; Valaip-pandūru, possessing (both) cultivated land (?) and jungle; Talaiṭṭakkolam, praised by great men (versed in) the sciences; Mādamāliṅgam, firm in great and fierce battles; Ilāmuri-deśam, whose fierce strength was subdued by a vehement (attack); Māṇakkavāram whose flower-gardens (resembled) the girdle (of the nymph) of the southern region; Kaḍāram, of fierce strength, which was protected by the neighbouring sea.

5. These details are also repeated in several other inscriptions dated in the 19th, 22nd, 23rd and 27th years of Rājendra Choladeva.¹

6. The preambles of two inscriptions dated in the 18th and 32nd years of Rājendra Chola refer to him as ruling over Gange (or Gangai), the East country and Kaḍāram.²

7. In an inscription at Mandikere, dated 1050 A.D., Rājendra Chola is said to have conquered Gangai in the north, Ilaṅgai in the south, Mahodai on the west and Kaḍāram on the east.³

8. The Kanyākumāri inscription (verse 72) of the 7th

1 Nos. 82, 83 and 133 of Channapatna Taluq (*Ep. Carn.* IX, 148-50, 161). Nos. 7a and 37 of Nelamaṅgala Taluq (*Ibid.*, pp. 30-35).

2 No. 1 of Nelamaṅgala Taluq (*Ibid.*, p. 29); No. 142 of Hoskote Taluq (*Ibid.*, p. 107).

3 No. 25 of Nelamaṅgala Taluq (*Ibid.*, p. 33).

year of Vīra Rājendra contains the following statement about Rājendra Chola.

"With (the help) of his forces which crossed the seashe (Rājendra Chola) burnt Kaṭāha that could not be set fire to by others."¹

In the light of the above records, the long passage in the Tanjore inscription (No. 4) seems to indicate that Rājendra Chola defeated the king of Kaṭāra, took possession of various parts of his kingdom, and concluded his campaign by taking Kaṭāra itself. In other words, the various countries mentioned in the passage were not independent kingdoms, but merely the different subject-states of Saṅgrāma-Vijayottuṅga, ruler of Kaṭāra and Śrī Vijaya.²

We must, therefore, try to identify these geographical names, with a view to understand correctly the exact nature of Rājendra Chola's conquests, and, indirectly, also of the empire of Saṅgrāma-Vijayottuṅga.

It is needless now to refer to the various suggestions and theories in this respect that were made from time to time till the ingenious researches of Coedès put the whole matter in a clear light.³ Although some of the conclusions of Coedès are not certainly beyond all doubt, his views are a great improvement on his predecessors and we cannot do better than accept his results, at least as a working hypothesis. We, therefore, sum up below the views put forward by Coedès with some modifications necessitated by later researches.⁴

1 *Travancore Archaeological Series*, vol. III, Part I, p. 157. *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, pp. 45-46, 54.

2 This view, originally propounded by Hultzsch (*op. cit.*) is accepted by Venkayya (*Rep. Arch. Surv. Burma*, 1909-10, p. 14) and Coedès (*BEFEO.*, vol. XVIII, No. 6, pp. 5-6).

3 *BEFEO.*, vol. XVIII, No. 6. For previous theories cf. *South Ind. Ins.*, vols. II, p. 106; III, pp. 104-5; *Ann. Report. Arch. Surv.*, 1898-99, p. 17; 1907-8, p. 233; *Madras Review* 1902, p. 251; *Rep. Arch. Surv. Burma*, 1906-7, p. 19, 1909-10, p. 14, 1916-17, p. 25.

4 These are indicated by references to later authorities in footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, the statements in the text are based upon Coedès's article (*op. cit.*).

PANNAI. This country is probably identical with Pane which Nāgarakṛtāgama includes among the states of Sumatra, subordinate to Majapahit. Gerini places it at modern Pani or Panei on the eastern side of the island of Sumatra.¹

MALAIYŪR. This is no doubt the same as the country known as *Malayu* which is sometimes written with a 'r' at the end (as in this instance and in some Arab texts) or sometimes without it. The identification of this place has formed a subject of keen and protracted discussion.² It has been located both in the eastern as well as in the western coast of Sumatra, and even in the southern part of Malay Peninsula. We learn from I-tsing that it was fifteen days' Journey by sea from Śrī-Vijaya³ and was conquered by this state some time between 672 and 705 A.D.

The Dutch scholars, however, agree in identifying it with Jambi.⁴

MĀYIRUḌIṄGAM. Taking the first syllable *mā* as equivalent to Sanskrit *mahā*, *Yiruḍiṅgam* has been identified with *Je-le-ting* of Chau Ju-kua. Schlegel identified this place with *Jeluton* in the island of Bangka,⁵ while Gerini proposed various identifications viz., with (1) Jelutong at the South-west of Jambi, (2) Jelutong in Johore and (3) Jelutong in Selangor.⁶ Coedès concludes from a passage of Chau Ju-kua's book that it must be looked for in the centre of the Malay Peninsula, and belongs to the northernmost group of states (in the Malay Peninsula) which were subordinate to the Śailendra empire. Rouffaer, on the other hand, locates it in the extreme south-east of the Peninsula, near Cape Rumania.⁷

1 Gerini, *Researches*, p. 513.

2 Cf. Pelliot, *BEFEO.*, IV, pp. 326 ff., Gerini, *Researches*, pp. 528 ff.; Ferrand, *JA.*, 11-XI, (1918), pp. 391 ff. and 11-XII, (1918), pp. 51-154.

3 Coedès says that according to I-tsing Malāyu was in the immediate neighbourhood ('voisinage immédiat') of Che-li-fo-che. This is hardly accurate.

4 Rouffaer, *BKI.*, vol. 77 (1921), pp. 11 ff.

5 *T'oung Pao* (1901), p. 134. 6 Gerini, *Researches*, pp. 627, 826.

7 Rouffaer, *BKI.*, vol. 77 (1921).

ILANGĀŚOGAM. M. G. Ferrand has identified the country with the *Ling-ya-sseu-kiā* which Chau Ju-kua includes among the vassal states of San-fō-ts'i, and also with Lenka-suka referred to as a tributary state of Majapahit in Nāgarakṛtāgama.¹ On the basis of a passage in the Hikayat Maron Mahāvamśa Coedès places it in the Kedah Peak (Gunong Jerai).² But Ferrand places it in the Isthmus of Ligor³ while Rouffaer locates it in Johor.⁴

MĀ-PPAPPĀLAM. Venkayya was the first to point out that this country is mentioned in Mahāvamśa.⁵ There it is referred to as a port in the country of Rammaññadesa. But as the authority of the king of Pagan extended far to the south, the location of this place in the western part of the Isthmus of Kra is not barred out.

Rouffaer identifies it with Great 'Pahang'.⁶

MEVILIMBANGAM. M. Sylvain Lévi identifies it with Karmaraṅga, the Kāmalāṅkā of Hiuen Tsang and places it in the Isthmus of Ligor.⁷

VALAIPPANDŪRU. Rouffaer identifies it with Pandurang or Phanrang⁸ but its accuracy may be doubted.

TALAITTAKKOLAM. It is almost certain that the country is identical with Takkola of Milindapañho and Takola of Ptolemy, the word 'Talai' in Tamil signifying 'head' or 'chief'. It must be located in the Isthmus of Kra or a little to the south of it.⁹

MĀ-DAMĀLIṄGAM. A short inscription found in Jaiya refers to a country called Tāmbraṅga—which is to

1 Ferrand, *Textes.*, p. 647 f.n. 1.

2 Gerini was the first to point it out (*JRAS.*, 1905., pp. 495 ff.).

3 *J.A.*, 11-XII (1818), pp. 134 ff.

4 *BKI.*, 77 (1921), pp. 89 ff.

5 *Ann. Rep.*, 1898-9, p. 17 *Arch. Survey of Burma, Ann. Rep.*, 1909-10, p. 14.

6 *BKI.*, vol. 77 (1921), p. 83.

7 *J.A.*, vol. CCIII (1923),

8 *BKI.*, vol. 77 (1921), p. 82.

9 There is a vast literature on 'Takkola'. In addition to the authorities cited by Coedès, I may refer to the views of S. Lévi (*Études Asiatique*, vol. II, pp. 3 ff.).

be located on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula, between the Bay of Bandon and Nāgor Śri Dharmarāj (Ligor). Damāliṅgam has been identified with Tāmbralīṅgam, mā being equivalent to *mahā*. It is evidently the same as Tan-ma-ling which Chau Ju-kua includes among the tributary states of San-fo-ts'i.

ILĀMURIDESĀM. Leaving aside the initial *i* which is often prefixed in Tamil to foreign names, this can be easily identified with Lāmuri of the Arab geographers and Lambri of Marco Polo, situated in the northern part of Sumatra. This country, under the form Lan-wou-li, is included among the tributary states of *San-fo-ts'i* by Chau Ju-kua.

MĀ-NAKKAVĀRAM. Taking the first syllable as equivalent to *mahā* the place can be easily identified with Nikobar islands. The form Necuveran used by the Marco Polo closely resembles Nakkavāram.

KAṬĀHA, KAḌĀRAM, KIḌĀRAM. M. Coedès has shown good grounds to prove that Kaṭāha is the same as Kie-tcha referred to by the Chinese as a port as early as 7th century A.D. The same place is referred to in later times as Kie-t'o and Ki-t'o, which may be equated to Kaḍa and Kiḍo. As the change of a 'lingual' to 'liquid' was very common in those days, the same place may be identified with Kaḷaḥ or Kila of Arab geographers and also with Ko-lo which Kia Tan places on the northern side of the Straits of Malacca, and Sintang Chou places at the south-east of Pan-pan. All these different names thus correspond, both phonetically and geographically, to the modern Kedah. In a Tamil poem it is referred to as Kaḷagam.

It has been seen above that Ilaṅgāsogam is also to be placed in Kedah. But as Ilaṅgāsogam or Gunong Jerai is placed too far in the south of Kedah, Kedah is also mentioned separately. It may be mentioned that in Nāgarakṛtāgama both Kedah and Leṅkasuka are mentioned as vassal states of Majapahit.¹

The detailed discussion clearly shows that Rājendra

¹ Nāgarakṛtāgama, ch. 16, VV. 13-14.

Chola's conquests extended practically over the whole of the eastern coast-region of Sumatra, and the central and southern part of Malay Peninsula, and included the two capital cities Kaṭāha and Śrī-Vijaya. That the story of this victory is not merely an imagination of the court-poets but based on facts, is proved beyond all doubt by the detailed references to the vassal states. It is interesting to note that many of these states are included in the Śailendra empire (San-fo-ts'i) by later Chinese authorities like Chau Ju-kua.¹

The date of this decisive victory can be ascertained with tolerable certainty. The Ins. No. 3, quoted above, shows that it must have taken place not later than the 13th year of Rājendra Chola. Now, the Tirumalai inscription,² dated in the same year, gives an account of his inland conquests, but does not contain a word about his over-sea conquests. If, for example, one compares the Tanjore Ins. (No. 4 above) with the Tirumalai Ins., it would appear that the former repeats word for word the entire passage in the latter, describing the inland conquests of Rājendra Chola, and then adds the passage, quoted above, describing his over-sea conquests. It may, therefore, be reasonably presumed, that these over-sea conquests had not taken place at the time the Tirumalai inscription was recorded. As the Tirumalai inscription is dated in the 13th year, we may presume that these conquests took place during the short interval between the drafting of this record and that of the Inscription No. 3. In other words, the over-sea conquests of Rājendra Chola took place in the 13th year of his reign, i.e. A.D. 1024-5, possibly during the latter part. We may, therefore, provisionally accept A.D. 1025 as the date of the great catastrophe which befell the Śailendra empire.

But according to the plain interpretation of the Inscription No. 2, quoted above, the hostility broke out much earlier, and as early as 1017-18 A.D., or some time before it, a naval expedition was sent against Kaṭāha. There is nothing

¹ Chau Ju-kua's account has been translated by Hirth and Rockhill.

² *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, pp. 229 ff.

surprising in it, for the Inscription No. 1, quoted above, clearly shows that early as 1007 A.D., the Cholas had begun an aggressive imperialistic policy to obtain mastery of the seas.

Although it is impossible now to ascertain exactly the cause of either the outbreak of hostility or the complete collapse of the Śailendra power, reference may be made to at least some important factors which contributed to the one or the other. According to the Chola records, the conquest of Kalinga and the whole eastern coast up to the mouth of the Ganges was completed before the over-sea expedition was sent. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar concludes from a study of all the relevant records that the actual starting-point of the over-sea expedition was in the coast-region of Kalinga.¹ Prof. Aiyangar infers from this fact that the conquest of Kalinga was undertaken by Rājendra Chola as it "was particularly necessary in view of the over-seas expedition that must have become necessary for some reason or other." He holds further "that the Kalingas were possibly rivals in the over-seas empire in connection with which the overseas expedition was actually undertaken."

Now these two statements are somewhat vague and, perhaps, even contradictory. But it is quite clear that the conquest of Kalinga and the whole coastal region furnished the Chola emperor with ample resources for his over-sea expedition. The mastery over the ports of Kalinga and Bengal, gave him well-equipped ships and sailors accustomed to voyage in the very regions which he wanted to conquer. The naval resources of the whole of the eastern coast of India were thus concentrated in the hands of Rājendra Chola, and it was enough to tempt a man to get possession of the territory which served as the meeting ground of the trade and commerce between India and the western countries on the one hand and the countries of the Far East on the other. The geographical position of the Śailendra empire

¹ *Journal of Indian History*, vol. II, p. 345.

enabled it to control almost the whole volume of maritime trade between western and eastern Asia and the dazzling prospect which its conquest offered to the future commercial supremacy of the Cholas seems to be the principal reason of the overseas expedition undertaken by Rājendra Chola. But it is the conquest of the eastern coastal regions of India that alone brought such a scheme within the range of practical politics.

Although for the time being, the success of the Cholas seems to be complete, from the very nature of the case, it could not have possibly continued for long. The task of maintaining hold upon a distant country across the sea was too great to be borne by the successors of Rājendra Chola and they had too many difficulties at home to think of the empire abroad. Rājādhirāja, the eldest son of Rājendra succeeded him in A.D. 1035. His whole reign was a period of unceasing struggle with the neighbouring powers and he himself fell fighting with the Chālukyas at the battlefield of Koppam in A.D. 1052 or 1053. Virarājendra who ascended the throne ten years later no doubt inflicted a severe defeat upon the Chālukyas, but his death in 1070 A.D., followed by a disputed succession and civil war, seriously weakened the prestige and authority of the Cholas. To make matters worse, Kalinga freed itself from the yoke of the Cholas and this crippled the naval resources of that kingdom. The supremacy of the Cholas was revived to a considerable extent by Kulottuṅga Chola (1070-1119), the grandson (daughter's son) of the famous Rājendra Chola. He reconquered Kalinga, and established peace and prosperity over his extensive dominions during a long reign of 49 years.¹

The relation between the Cholas and the Śailendras and of both to China, during the period of nearly a century (1035-1120 A.D.) of which a short historical sketch has been given above, is referred to in Chola inscriptions and Chinese documents. We give below a short summary of them before drawing any general conclusions.

1 V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* (3rd Ed.) pp. 467-8.

I. Chola Inscriptions

(a) The Perumber Ins. of Vīra Rājendradeva¹ dated in his 7th year (A.D. 1068-69) states :—

“Having conquered (the country of) Kaḍāram, (he) was pleased to give (it) (back) to (its) king who worshipped (his) feet (which bore) ankle-rings.”

(b) The small Tamil Leyden Grant² dated in the 20th year of Kulottuṅga Chola (1089-90 A.D.) says :—

“At the request of the king of Kiḍāra communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānottuṅga Sāmanta, Kullottuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted to the Buddhist monastery called, Śailendra-Cūḍamaṇivarma-vihāra (i.e. the one established by king Cūlamaṇivarman as referred to in the large Leyden Grant).”

II. Chinese Documents

The following account is given by Ma Twan Lin in respect of an embassy from Pagan in A.D. 1106.³

(a) “The Emperor at first issued orders to accord them the same reception and treat them in the same way as was done in the case of the ambassadors of the Cholas (Chu-lien). But the President of the Board of Rites observed as follows :—The Chola is a vassal of San-fo-t’si. That is why in the year hi-ning (A.D. 1068-1077) it was thought good enough to write to the king of that country on a strong paper with an envelope of plain silk. The king of Pagan on the other hand is ruler of a grand kingdom.”

The History of the Sung dynasty gives the following accounts of embassies from San-fo-t’si.

(b) In 1017 the king Ha-ch’i-su-wu-ch’a-p’u-mi sent envoys with a letter in golden characters and tribute.....When

1 *South Ind. Ins.*, vol. III Part II. p. 202.

2 *Arch. Surv. of South India*, vol. IV, pp. 226 ff.

3 D’Hervey and Saint Denys, *Meridionaux*, p. 586 quoted by Coedès, *BEFEO.*, XVIII, No. 6, p. 8 and *Cerini Researches*, pp. 624-25.

they went back, an edict was issued addressed to their king accompanied by various presents.¹

(c) In 1028, the 8th month, the king Si-li-tieh-hwa (Sri Deva?) sent envoys to carry tribute. The custom was that envoys from distant countries who brought tribute, got a girdle adorned with gold and silver, but this time girdles entirely of gold were given to them.²

(d) In 1067 an envoy, who was one of their high chiefs, called Ti-hwa-ka-la, arrived in China. The title of 'Great General' who supports obedience and cherishes renovation was given to him and he was favoured with an imperial edict.³

(e) During the period Yüan-fung (1078-1085) envoys came from the country bringing silver, pearls..... The letter they brought was first forwarded to the court from Canton, where they waited until they were escorted to the capital. The Emperor remembered that they had come very far, he gave them liberal presents and then allowed them to return.

The next year he gave them 64,000 strings of cash, 15,000 taels of silver and favoured the two envoys who had come with honorary titles.⁴

(f) In 1082 three envoys came to have an audience from the emperor and brought golden lotus flowers etc. They all received honorary titles according to their rank.⁵

(g) In 1083 three other envoys came, who all received honorary titles according to their rank.⁶

1 Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 65. Ferrand restores the name of the king as "Haji Sumatrabhūmi"—the king of Sumatra (*JA.*, 11-XX, 1922, p. 19 and f.n. (3).

2 Groeneveldt, *Notes*, pp. 65-66. Both Groeneveldt and Ferrand (*JA.*, 11-XX, 1922, p. 20) restore the name as Śrī Deva.

3 Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 66. Both Groeneveldt and Ferrand (*op. cit.*) restore the name as 'Deva Kala'. Coedès suggests Divākara (*BEFEO.*, XXIII, p. 470).

4 Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 66.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Ibid.*

(h) In the period Shau-Sheng (1094-97) they made their appearance once again.¹

Chola embassies to China

(i) According to Ma Twan Lin an embassy sent by Lo-cha-lo-cha king of Chu-lien reached China in A.D. 1015.² Gerini restores this name as Rājārāja, (the Great).³

(j) According to the Sung-Shih, two kings of Chu-lien sent embassies with tribute to China, Shih-li-lo-cha-yin-to-lo-chu-lo in A.D. 1033 and Ti-wa-ka-lo,⁴ in A.D. 1077. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar has restored the first name as Śrī-Rājendra Chola.⁵

Now the fact that some time before A.D. 1068-9 Vira Rājendra conquered Kaḍāram (I-a) shows that the country had regained independence in the meanwhile. Even Rājādhirāja, the immediate successor of Rājendra Chola claimed conquest of Kaḍāram. It would thus appear that for nearly half a century since 1024-5 when Rājendra Chola first conquered the country, the struggle between the two continued with varying degrees of success.

Even the restoration of the king of Kaḍāra, after he had acknowledged the suzerainty of Vira Rājendra, does not seem to have ended the struggle. On the one hand Kulottuṅga Chola, the successor of Vira Rājendra, claims to have destroyed Kaḍāram, on the other hand the Chinese represent the Chola power to be subordinate to Śrī-vijaya (II-a). This conflicting statement perhaps indicates the continuance of the struggle, with alternate success and reverse of both parties.

The embassy from Kaḍāra to the Chola king in A.D. 1089-90 (I-b) seems to mark the beginning of a new era of goodwill and friendship between the two states. But if the

1 Groeneveldt, *Notes*, p. 67.

2 Hervey and Saint Denys, *Meridionaux*, p. 574.

3 Gerini, *Researches*, p. 609 f.n. 2.

4 *JRAS.*, 1896, p. 490 f.n.

5 *Journ. of Ind. Hist.*, vol. II. p. 353.

Chinese statement that "Chola is a vassal of San-fo-t'si" be true of the year 1106 when it was recorded, it would again indicate the resumption of a hostile relation between the two.

On the whole, it would be safe to assume that in spite of the arduous nature of the task, the Chola emperors tried to maintain their hold on the distant over-sea empire, at least for nearly a century. It would be too much to assume that they could hope to exercise a rigid control over the distant land. The utmost they could fairly expect was to have their suzerainty acknowledged by the king of Kaṭāra. The latter must have seized every possible opportunity to shake off even this amount of control. On the other hand the Chola emperors were unwilling to give up altogether their pretensions of suzerainty, and able monarchs like Vira Rājendra and Kulottunga would occasionally fit out a naval expedition to re-establish their authority beyond the sea.

In spite of the claims of the Cholas to have destroyed Kaṭāram, that kingdom never ceased to function as a separate state. This is proved by the regular despatch of embassies to the court of China throughout the eleventh century A.D. (II. b-h.).

The embassy of 1017 was sent by a king, whose Chinese name has been restored by Ferrand as Haji-Suvarṇabhūmi or king of Suvarṇabhūmi (II-b). It must be regarded as somewhat unusual that this general term is substituted for the proper name of the king which was used in case of the two immediately preceding embassies.

The next embassy was sent in A.D. 1028 by a king whose name seems to correspond to Śrī-Deva (II-c). The Chola emperor must have conquered Kaṭāra shortly before this date, and it may be presumed that this Śrī-Deva refers to him or to his viceroy. It is to be noted that the Chinese emperor showed unusual honours to the envoy. This is perhaps due to the mighty fame of Rājendra Chola, who himself sent an envoy to the Chinese court, five years later (II-i).

The envoy who visited the imperial court in 1067 A.D. is called Ti-hwa-ka-la (II-d) and is described as a high dignitary. It is interesting to note that the Chola king who sent

an embassy to China 10 years later was also called *Ti-wa-ka-lo*, (Il-j). Now, this Chola king is undoubtedly Rājendra Deva-Kulottuṅga, and the Chinese name was made up of its second and third parts (Deva-Kulo).¹

It is not impossible that this Kulottuṅga was also the envoy, a high dignitary, who visited the imperial court in 1067 A.D. The history of the early years of Kulottuṅga lends support to this view. He was the daughter's son of Rājendra Chola, and his father was the Viceroy of Veṅgi. But when his father died in c. A.D. 1061-2, he did not succeed him, and indeed his position about that period is a mystery. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar writes: "One would naturally expect this Rājendra (Kulottuṅga) to succeed his father, when he died in 1061-62 or the next year. In all the transactions about the appointment of Vijayāditya VII as Viceroy of Veṅgi we do not hear of the name of Kulottuṅga."²

Then, again, the early inscriptions of Kulottuṅga affirm that he "gently raised, without wearying (her) in the least, the lotus-like goddess of the earth residing in the region of the rising sun." Prof. S. K. Aiyangar, although unaware of the identity of the two names *Ti-wa-ka-lo* (the Chola king) and *Ti-hwa-ka-la*, the envoy of Śrī-vijaya, remarked as follows on the above inscription. "This land of the rising sun cannot well be the country of Veṅgi and if the conquest of Burmah (sic) by Rājendra I is accepted, as it must now be, this would only mean that Rājendra Kulottuṅga distinguished himself as a prince in the eastern exploits of his grandfather, either during Rājendra Chola's reign or under Vira Rājendra when he reconquered Kaḍāram."³

For 'Burmah' in the above passage we must, of course, read Kaḍāram. Now, since Kulottuṅga ruled till 1119 A.D.

1 This identification was proposed by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar (*Journ. of Ind. Hist.*, II-353). I am also indebted to him for the information, based on Tamil inscriptions, that both Rājādhirāja and Kulottuṅga claimed conquest of Kaḍāram.

2 *Ancient India*, p. 129.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

it is impossible to believe that he was old enough in A.D. 1024-5 to accompany his grandfather Rājendra Chola. The reference is therefore possibly to the expedition of Vira Rājendra which took place some time before A.D. 1068-9 (I-a). This fits in with the date of the embassy in A.D. 1067.

If this view be correct, we must hold that Vira Rājendra's conquest has an effective one, and for some time at least the Cholas definitely occupied the kingdom of Kaḍāra. Kulottuṅga evidently held a very high position in the conquered province and possibly paid a visit to China as an ambassador from Kaḍāra with a view to establish a friendly relation with that power.

Kulottuṅga must have returned to India shortly after, as he ascended the Chola throne in 1070 A.D., and the Perumbar Ins. (I-a) indicates that before doing so, he re-installed the king of Kaḍāra after he had paid homage and fealty to the Chola emperor.¹

Once back in his country Kulottuṅga was faced with a grave political crisis, as noted above. Evidently the king of Kaḍāra took advantage of this to free himself from the yoke of the Cholas. Possibly he came out successful in some engagement with the Cholas and pretended to have established his suzerainty over the latter. The Chinese who got their information from San-fo-t'si were thus misled into the belief that Chola was a vassal of Śrī-vijaya (II-a). Otherwise it is impossible to believe, in the absence of any positive evidence, that the king of Kaḍāra could have established any sort of claim over the empire of the Cholas.

The successive embassies in 1078, 1083 and 1094 indicate that after the storm of the Chola invasion had blown over, Kaḍāra resumed its normal relationship with the Chinese court.

¹ In addition to what is contained in the following foot-note about the grandson of Rāja Suran (Chola) the stories of the Chola conquest of Malaya occur in other legends (cf. *Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1926, p. 413 1932 pp. 1 ff.).

The political supremacy of the Cholas in the Far East for a period extending over a century is perhaps echoed in the Malayan tradition about the mythical expedition of Raja Suran [Chola?] down the peninsula.¹ In any case it is positively indicated by some records in Sumatra. A Tamil inscription has been discovered at Lobu Tua near Baros in Sumatra. It is dated in 1088 A.D. and refers to the organisation, activities and mythological beliefs of a corporation of Fifteen Hundred.² There is no doubt that this was a Tamil corporation of the type of Banañja, Nānādeśi, Valaṅgai, Idaṅgai etc. whose activities as trade unions, are frequently referred to in South-Indian records.³ According to an inscription found at Baligami in the Mysore state, the members of these unions were "brave men, born to wander over many countries ever since the beginning of the Kṛita age, penetrating regions of the six continents by land and water-routes and dealing in various articles such as horses and elephants, precious stones, perfumes and drugs, either wholesale or in retail."⁴ It may be noted here that a Vaiṣṇava Temple was built at Pagan by the Nānādesis (merchants dealing with various countries).⁵

Another inscription at Forlak Dolok in Padang Lawas, and dated probably in A.D. 1245, is partly written in Kavi Script and partly in Indian, probably South-Indian alphabet.⁶ A third inscription at Bandar Bapahat belonging to the Maja-

1 A grandson of Suran is also said to have founded Singapore. The story is given in full in *Sejarah Malayu*. Tales of friendly correspondence between Malayan and Indian kings may also be attributed to the relations of Cholas with Malayasia. This point was first noted by Blagden (*Journ. Str. Br. R. A. S.*, No. 81, p. 26).

2 *Oudh. Versl.*, 1914, pp. 113. *Not. Bat. Gen.*, 1892, p. 80. The inscription has been translated into English by Prof. K. A. N. Sastri in *TBG.*, vol. 72 (1932) pp. 314 ff.

3 Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd. Edition pp. 87-96.

4 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. VII, S. 118.

5 *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VII, p. 107.

6 *Oudh. Versl.*, 1914, p. 112, 1920, p. 70.

pahit period, is written in Kavi and then reproduced in South-Indian Grantha character.¹

In addition to these records, the intimate intercourse between South India and Sumatra is further indicated by some existing Sumatran clan-names, such as Choliya, Paṇḍiya, Meliyala, Pelawi, which may be easily identified with the Chola, Pāṇḍya, Malayālam and Pallava. Another name Tekang is probably derived from Tekkanam, the general Tamil term for south i.e. South India.²

It is, of course, impossible to say when these South-Indian names were introduced into Sumatra. In view of the political and trade relations between the two countries in the eleventh century A.D. the large influx of South-Indian people and the consequent introduction of these tribal names may be referred to that period. Of course, with the evidence available at present, it is difficult to determine whether the more peaceful trade-relations preceded or succeeded the political relations between the two countries. In the modern age we can easily quote examples of either. In many cases, the commercial intercourse has led to political interference, and in many others, political supremacy over a foreign land has led to an intense development of trade of the conquering country. Whether the traders and merchants of South India paved the way for the over-sea conquest of the Chola kings, or whether the process was just the reverse of this, the future historian alone will be able to tell.

1 *Oudh. Verl.*, 1912, p. 46.

2 *TBG.*, vol. 45. (1902) pp. 541-576, Kern. *VG.*, vol. III. (1915) pp. 67-72.

Indian Colonisation in Sumatra before the Seventh Century

By Dr. J. Przyluski

"It is almost a current opinion" says Ferrand, "that Java has been the focus and centre of the expansion of Indian civilisation in Indonesia. It seems, on the contrary, that we should give the credit of this expansion to the Sumatran empire of Śrīvijaya."¹ As Ferrand² has suggested, we may distinguish in the history of Sumatra an early period anterior to the progress of the kingdom of Śrīvijaya. This period extends from the beginning of the Christian era to the year 644, the date of the sending of the first embassy to the court of China from the Sumatran country of Malayu. It is with this ancient period that we are now concerned.

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* * *

Before the seventh century, the interpretation of texts is impeded by the inaccuracy of geographic nomenclature.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, on his return from India, by way of Ceylon, arrived at a country which he calls *Ye-p'o-t'i*, that is to say Yavadvīpa. The *Rāmāyaṇa* also mentions Yavadvīpa of which Ptolemy makes *Iabadiu*. What is the value of this geographical name?

The majority of authors, Kern, Sylvain Lévi and others, admit that Yavadvīpa designates the island of Java. Ferrand makes the objection that the Yavadvīpa of Indian literature and the *Iabadiu* of Ptolemy have this common characteristic of being a country rich in gold, a character-

1 G. Ferrand, *L'Empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*, p. 3. Bibliographic pp. 1-2. The historical importance of the empire of Śrīvijaya has been discovered by Cœdès; cf. *Le royaume de Śrīvijaya*, BEFEO, t. XVIII n.º 6.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

istic of Sumatra, not of Java. Ferrand, therefore, concludes¹ that Yavadvipa designates Sumatra, not Java.¹

Other authors are less positive. With regard to the *Ye-p'o-t'i* of Fa-hien, Beal gives the definition "Java or, perhaps, Sumatra." In 132 A. D., the king of a country which is called in Chinese *Ye-tiao* (ancient pronunciation **Yap-div*) sent an embassy to the court of China. M. Pelliot, who has recognized in **Yap-div* the name Yavadvipa, nevertheless observes: "In proposing to find Yavadvipa in *Ye-tiao*, I naturally do not wish to say that I feel obliged to see in it Java rather than Sumatra; for me it corresponds to the name given by Ptolemy and that is all."² This prudence is justified. The most ancient travellers did not make a clear distinction between the islands of Java and Sumatra. These two great islands formed the continent of Yava, either because the strait which separates them was for a long time ignored, or because no great importance was attached to it. For us, New Zealand is a whole although it is composed of two islands. We are not at liberty to affirm either with Kern that Yava is Java or with Ferrand that Yava is not Java but Sumatra. Probably for Ptolemy and for all the ancient geographers Yava is Java-Sumatra.

The persistence of this ancient notion explains the fact that during the Middle Ages, when Java and Sumatra were no longer confused, they were still given the same name. For Marco Polo and later geographers that which we call Java is Java Minor, while Sumatra is Java Major. The ancient Yava has become an archipelago.

* * *

In the accounts of Arabian travellers *Šumutra* or *Sumutra* designates a port, a kingdom or the island of Sumatra as a whole.³ In a panegyric in Old Javanese

1 Ferrand, *ibid.*, p. 153.

2 *Deux itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^{me} siècle*, BEFEO, t. IV p. 258, n. 2.

3 Ferrand, *ibid.*, pp. 80-81, 91-95.

with the date of 1365 A. D. entitled Nāgarakṛtāgama, the country which the Arabs called Sumutra and which is found on the North-East coast of the island, is called Samudra.¹ It seems at first sight that Sumatra, Sumutra may be corruptions of Samudra, a Sanskrit word which means "ocean," and this is the opinion of a certain number of authors. "That Samudra, Sumatra signifies the island of the ocean" says Rouffaer² "and is to be identified with the city of Samudra on the river of Pasei on the Eastern coast of Ačēh, is a fact which is accepted by almost everyone." But G. Ferrand has objected that it has not been proved that a definite island has been called **Samudradvīpa*, "island of the sea," nor has this strange toponym designated the whole island or the northern part of Sumatra.³

The question has been brought up again by Rouffaer with regard to a king of San-fo-ts'i, designated in Chinese by *Hia-tch'e Sou-wou-tch'a-p'ou-mi* (†Hagi Sumatrabhūmi). The Dutch scholar explains this title as follows: "a King of the country of *Samudra*, that is of the country of the sea, that is of the country of *Tasik* (in Malay "sea"), *Temasik*, *Tumasik* (forms with an infix of *Tasik*), otherwise said of the island of Singapore."⁴ But G. Ferrand has persisted in his objection: "How can the island of Singapore" he asks, be called "country of the ocean"? This toponym is as impossible as the preceding one: a definite island can no more be called "Ocean" than "Land of the ocean", especially when "ocean" is applied to the North-East of Sumatra and "Land of the ocean" to the island of Singapore."⁵

The objection of G. Ferrand is not perhaps decisive.

1 Canto 13, p. 50; cf. canto 41, p. 105 and canto 42, p. 107.

2 Ferrand, *ibid.*, p. 19, n. 3.

3 *Bijdragen t. T. L. en Volkenkunde v. Nederlansh-Indië*, deel 74, 1918, p. 138.

4 *Bijdragen t. T. L. en V.* deel 77, p. 75.

5 *L'empire sumatranais de Śrīvijaya*, p. 19 n. 3.

The 213th and 463rd stories of the Pali *Jātaṅga* begin with these words: "Formerly King Bharu reigned in the kingdom of Bharu". Now *bharu* is a word which signifies "sea" and the same word is contained in the name of the city and of the region of Bharukaccha. It is then not impossible that an Indian word signifying "sea, ocean" may have been used to designate a city, a kingdom and by extension a large island. Upon a closer investigation, the conjecture appears more probable.

I have shown elsewhere that *bharu* is an Indian word of Non-Aryan origin and that it should be connected with the Malay *baroh* "low ground, sea-coast, sea."¹ In the dialects of the Malay Peninsula we find *baruh* "plain, flat country", *baruk*, *barok* "shore" and *bāruhi* "sea". The same name is found frequently in the geographic nomenclature of the Malay country. We read in the "*Journey of the Arab merchant Sulayman in India and in China*," written in 851: "From Langabâlûs (Nicobar islands), the ships then sail to come to a place called Kalâh-bâr (the port of Krah on the Malay Peninsula). This same name *bar* is given to both a kingdom and a sea-coast."² It is then no exaggeration to seek in a form *bāruḥ*, *bâr* the equivalent of the Indian kingdom of Bharu.

We may now explain the mention in the *Nāgarakṛtā-gama* of a country called Samudra situated on the North-east coast of Sumatra. Samudra is probably the Sanskrit translation of a local name signifying "sea". We suppose that this name may have been extended to the whole island and, as foreign names are often deformed when they pass from one language to another, Samudra might easily have been pronounced *Sumadra, Sumatra, Sumutra by the Chinese and Arabian navigators.

In short, Yavadîpa designed primarily Java-Sumatra. When they wished to distinguish between the two

1 *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, XXX, fasc. 2, p. 197 seq.

2 Trans. G. Ferrand, in *Les Classiques de l'Orient*, p. 41.

islands, they called the one where they first reached land by the name of one of its ports situated in the north. "To go to Samudra" meant that they went to the larger island in opposition to the smaller one which alone kept the name of Java.

* * * * *

In the Chinese history of the Ming dynasty, the account of the San-fo-ts'i begins as follows :

"San-fo-ts'i formerly called Kan-t'o-li, for the first time sent envoys with tribute in the reign of the emperor Hiao-Wou of the former Song dynasty (454-464) ; during the reign of the emperor Wou of the Liang dynasty (502-549) they came repeatedly and in the time of the second Song dynasty (960-1279) they brought tribute without interruption."¹

The Chinese history of the Liang dynasty provides the following facts concerning the Sumatran country of *Kan-t'o-li* :²

"The country of *Kan-t'o-li* is situated on an island in the southern sea ; its customs and manners are about the same as those of Fou-nan and Lin-yi. It produces cloth of variegated colours, cotton and areca-nuts, these last being of excellent quality and better than those of any other country.

"In the reign of the emperor Hiao-Wou of the Song dynasty (454-464), the king of the country, *Che-p'o-lo-nalien-t'o* (Śrīvara-narendra) sent a high official of the name *Tchou Licou-t'o* (Rudra, the Indian), to present valuable articles of gold and silver.

"In the year 502, the king *K'iu-tan Sieou-po-t'o-lo* (Gautama Subhadra) dreamt on the eighth day of the fourth month that he saw a Buddhist priest who said to him : "China has now a holy ruler and after ten years more the

1 Cf. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, p. 68 ; G. Ferrand, *Srivijaya*, p. 24.

2 Cf. Groeneveldt, *ibid.*, p. 60 seq., corrected by Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires*, pp. 187, n. 4 and 392 and by Ferrand, *Srivijaya*, pp. 264-265.

law of Buddha will greatly increase ; if you send messengers to carry tribute and show your reverence, your country will be prosperous and happy, and the foreign merchants will visit it in numbers increased a hundred-fold. If you do not believe what I say, your country will not enjoy peace." The king, at first, could not believe this, but some time afterwards he saw again the priest in a dream, saying to him : "As you do not believe me, I must bring you there and make you see the Emperor." He then went to China in his dream and had an audience with the emperor. When he awoke he was greatly astonished, and as he was a skilful painter, he made a picture of the emperor's face as he had seen it in his dream, adorning it with various colours. He then sent an envoy, accompanied by a painter, to carry a letter to the emperor and present precious stones and other things. When the envoys had arrived, they made a picture of the emperor which they took home to their country and, comparing it with the original drawing, it was found to be exactly the same. The king now mounted this picture on a precious frame and honoured it more and more every day.

"Some time after the king died and his son *P'i-ye-po-mo* (*Vijayavarman* ?) came to the throne. In 519 he sent a high official, called *Pi-yuan-po-mo* (*Vi.....varman*) to present a letter of the following contents : "To the ever victorious emperor....."

In the year 520 the same king sent again an envoy to present as tribute products of his country."

This text reveals that in the middle of the 6th century that part of Sumatra which the History of the Liang calls *Kan-t'o-li*, was ruled by a king who bore a Sanskrit name. This fact alone proves clearly that the Indian civilisation had been implanted in this country.

As for the religion which was there in practice, an examination of proper names will give us some information. The name of the royal envoy *Tchou Lieou-t'o*,

Rudra, the Indian, seems to show that the king favoured Śivaïte religion, while the name of the king, his successor, Gautama Subhadra, is rather inspired by Buddhism. Buddhism then must have made great progress at the court of *Kan-t'o-li* towards the beginning of the sixth century.

This conclusion is confirmed by the History of the Liang which, in a story legendary but not without significance, shows us the king of *Kan-t'o-li* receiving in a dream the visit of a Buddhist monk. In the Chinese version, this legend was evidently intended to flatter and glorify the emperor of China and Ma Touan-lin himself was already aware of this purpose.¹ But this story is related to a series of other stories where we find a king being converted to Buddhism under similar conditions. According to an erroneous tradition which has been widely spread in China, Buddhism was introduced into that country by the emperor Ming of the second Han dynasty as the consequence of a dream where this sovereign beheld a supernatural apparition. The emperor then despatched an embassy charged to bring back some Buddhist monks.²

The biography of Guṇavarman contains a similar episode: "This religious man belonged to the royal family of Ki-pin (Cashmere). When he was thirty years old, the king of Cashmere having died without children, they wished to put him on the throne, but he refused and left for Ceylon, where he dwelt in a village called *Kie-po-li*. Then he went into the kingdom of *Chö-p'o*. The night before his arrival, the mother of the king saw in a dream a religious man who entered the kingdom upon a flying junk. In the morning Guṇavarman arrived, and the queen-mother, convinced by her dream, was converted to Buddhism. She exerted her influence over her son so that he should

1 Cf. *Wen hien t'ong k'ao*, trans. Hervey de Saint-Denys, *Méridionaux*, pp. 451-454.

2 H. Maspero, *Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming*, *BEFEO*, 1910, p. 95.

imitate her; she succeeded in persuading him. The kingdom having been invaded by enemies, the king asked Guṇavarman if it was not contrary to the law of religion to strive against them; Guṇavarman replied that it was a duty to chastise brigands; the king, therefore, started off to fight and won a victory. Little by little Buddhism spread throughout the kingdom, and the king who wished to enter the religious life, would not renounce his project at the entreaties of his ministers, except upon the condition that throughout the whole kingdom no one should be put to death. The renown of Guṇavarman spread far and wide; in 424, Chinese monks requested the emperor to invite Guṇavarman to come to China; messengers for this purpose were sent to Guṇavarman and to the king of *Chō-p'o*, *p'o-to-kiā*. At that moment Guṇavarman embarked or had embarked in order to go to Lin-yi (Champa) in the ship of the merchant Tchou Nanti (Nandin the Indian); when the wind was favourable, he arrived at Canton. He reached Nankin in 431 and must have died a few months later, at the age, as the Chinese reckon, of 65 years.¹

When the biographer of Guṇavarman speaks of *Chō-p'o*, it is impossible to know exactly what part of Yavadvīpa he has in mind. Let us only notice the analogy of these *picaresque* stories intended to explain retrospectively the introduction of Buddhism in China, in *Chō-p'o* and in *Kan-t'o-li*.

Without exaggerating the chronological accuracy of these stories, we may, thanks to them, follow the progress of Buddhism. In 413, Fa-hien finds in Yavadvīpa so few Buddhists "that it is not worth while to mention them."² A little later, Guṇavarman converts the queen-mother of the "kingdom of *Chō-p'o*." In the beginning of the sixth century, the king of *Kan-t'o-li* was converted. Finally when, in 671-672, the pilgrim Yi-tsing stops at Śrīvijaya, he is amazed at the number and at

1 Pelliot, *Deux itinéraires*, pp. 264-5.

2 Legge, *Fa-hien*, p. 113.

the learning of the Buddhist priests, studies the "science of sounds", and advises his compatriots who may wish to travel to India to make in Śrīvijaya a sojourn of a year or two, in order to prepare themselves there to read the original Buddhist texts.¹

In short, it is probably between 414 and the first decades of the sixth century that Buddhism spread through the principal states of Indonesia. And it is at this same period that Buddhism made a decisive progress in China under the Wei and the Liang. The sixth century is a great period in the history of the expansion of Indian ideas and of the intercourse by sea between the peoples of Asia.

What is exactly the country that the History of the Liang calls *Kan-t'o-li*? The History of the Ming identifies this kingdom with that of Palembang, at the South-East of Sumatra. But this identification may not be accepted without proof.

Kan-t'o-li seems to be the Chinese transcription of an original **Kandārī* or **Kandali*. Now M. Ferrand has drawn our attention to a passage of the *Hāwīya* of Ibn Majīd, with the date of 1462, where the port of Šinkel on the North-East coast of Sumatra is called Šinkel *Kandārī*. According to M. Ferrand this expression must mean Sinkel of the country of *Kandār*, or Sinkel (of the country of) *Kandārī*, and *Kandārī* would designate the whole island of Sumatra.²

But as there is no proof that the large island was ever called by this name, we may be sceptical as to the possibility of reaching a final decision.

Let us consider *Kan-t'o-li* from another point of view. These three syllables may transcribe an original **Kandālī*. Now in Sanskrit *Kandalī* or *Kadalī* is the name of the banana tree. We know that in India, Indo-

1 Takakusu, *Record*, pp. XXXIV and XL-XLI.

2 Le K'ouen-louen, *JA.*, 1919, pp. 266-7 of the reprint.

China and especially in Indonesia many names of places and of peoples have been borrowed from the local flora.¹ *Kandalī* might be a name in the same category as *malakā*, *madjapahit*, etc.

Let us not conclude too hastily that *Kandalī* is the Sanskrit translation of a Malay word such as *pisang*, "banana tree". I have shown elsewhere that *Kadalī*, *Kandalī* are not originally Aryan words, but have been borrowed from the Non-Aryan languages of India.² Just as in the Malay Peninsula, we find beside the Malay *pisang*, the Sakai or Semang names of the banana tree, such as *kəlui*, *k̄le*, *telui*, etc., so in the island of Sumatra, in the 5th century, the banana tree may have had a variety of names, and it is not impossible that the Chinese *kan-t'o-li* is the transcription of an indigenous word.

This conjecture has at least the advantage of explaining the rapid disappearance of the name that the Chinese chroniclers have written *Kan-t'o-li*. If *Kandalī* was originally the indigenous name of a great kingdom, it was doomed to disappear before a nobler form such as Śrīvijaya or Samudra.

1 Cf. Ferrand, *Malakā, le Malāyu et Malāyur*, JA., 1918, p. 156 of the reprint; and cf. *Notes on Names of Places in the Island of Singapore and its Vicinity* (Journal of the Straits Branch of the RAS., n. 50. pp. 76-82).

2 Cf. *Pre-aryan and pre-dravidian in India*, pp. 4-5.

An old-Javanese loan-record of the Śaka year 833

By Himansu Bhusan Sarkar

The early inscriptions of Java are principally records of free gift of lands to temples, variously known as *mahāprāsāda*, *prāsāda kabhakṭyan*, *patapān*, *sīma kabikuan*, *dharmamāśrama*, *kaḥyangan*, etc., between which the exact points of difference are not known. The present copper-plate derived from an unknown region is wholly of a different character. It differs from other records not only in the opening line, which usually begins with "svasti śaḥavarṣātīta" and sometimes (c.g., O.J.O Nos. XIX,XXX, XXXVII, etc.) with "om avighnaṃ astu", but also in its total absence of curse-formulas, which are distinctive features of early Javanese records in *kawi*. The record under review moreover presupposes the existence of a custom that the repayment of debts necessitated the drawing up of a supplementary document. Dr. Brandes took a very brief notice of it in the *Notulen* for 1896 (p. 53) where however the size of this plate was not stated. It bears the number XXIX in Brandes-Krom, *Oudjavaansche oorkonden* from which I edit the text, adding an original translation and diacritical marks.

TEXT

Front-side

1. Śaka 833 Phālgunamāsa dvitīya kṛṣṇapakṣa, ma,
2. wa, ā, wāra, kālani banawī sumahur hutang sang bapa
i mpu guru
3. dhayā, panahurnya mas su 16 mā 10 ku 2 ha 5
tumangga

4. ppikang mas pu lati bapani bayal anag wanwa i wuru tunggal
5. tutuganning taṇḍa muang pu wijah bapani bhūmi anag wanwa i wuru tu
6. *nggal, śuddha hutang ni banawī i mpu guru dhayā, tatra sākṣi sang tgu
7. hhan anag wanwa i pilang watak panggihyang, sanganag wa

Back-side

1. nwa i walakaś watak walakas sang bhāskara anag wanwa i waleng
2. watak waleng, sang pakambangan anag wanwa i tangga watak hino
3. sang ratirang anag wanwa i limo watak pagar wsi, likhitapātra
4. rake pilang,

TRANSLATION

1. The Śaka year 833, the month of Phālguṇa, the second day of the dark half of the month, *mahulu*.¹
2. *wage*¹ Sunday. That is the time when Banawī paid back the debts of (his) father to Mpu Gurudhayā.
3. His repayment was (equal to) māś su 16 mā 10 ku 2 ha 5. This gold was received by
4. Mpu Latī Bapani Bayal² (who is) the *anag wanwa* (lit. native) of Wuru tunggal,
5. the *tutugan*³ of the *taṇḍa*⁴ and Mpu Wijah Bapani Bhūmi⁵ (who is) *anag wanwa* of Wuru

1 Indonesian days of six and five-day week respectively.

2 Another interpretation is possible, viz. "...Mpu Latī, father of Bayal (who is) ..." etc.

3 Apparently a petty official.

4 Subordinate officer. In the *Nāgarakṛ.*, (85/1) he is a chief officer. Elsewhere the term has also been used in the sense of 'Minister,' 'Elder,' etc.

5 Another interpretation, similar to that of note 3 above, is possible.

6. tunggal. Cleared off is the debt of Banawī to Mpu Curudhayā. Witnesses thereof are the worthy Tēguhhan,
7. (who is) *anag wanwa* of Pilang watak Panggil hyang, the worthy.....*anag wan*

Rack-side

1. *wa* of Walakaś watak Walakas, the worthy Bhāskara (who is) *anag wanwa* of Waleng
2. watak Waleng, the worthy Pakambangan (who is) the *anag wanwa* of Tangga watak Hino,
3. the worthy Ratirang (who is) the *anag wanwa* of Limo watak Pagar wesi. (This is) written by
4. *raḱe* Pilang

The term Śūnyatā and its different interpretations

(Based chiefly on Tibetan sources)

By Dr. E. Obermiller

In the Haraprasad Memorial Number of the *Indian Historical Quarterly* I have made an attempt to give an interpretation of the 20 aspects of the principle of śūnyatā, as analysed by Haribhadra in his *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-āloka* with references to the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra* and explanations derived from Tibetan sources. I have pointed to the fact that Haribhadra, as a representative of the Mādhyamika school of the Buddhists,^{*} has interpreted the term śūnyatā from the relativistic standpoint acknowledged by all the Mādhyamikas and has examined all the 20 aspects in this sense.

It would be, however, insufficient if we were to take into consideration only this meaning of the term. It is true that the Mādhyamika interpretation of śūnyatā in the sense of Relativity is the most remarkable and shows an exceedingly high degree of development of philosophical thought. The term śūnyatā, however, is not restricted to the Mādhyamika system alone; it is used by all the Buddhist schools, Hinayānistic as well as Mahāyānistic. The aim of the

* I He belongs to the hybrid school of Yogācāra-Mādhyamika-*svāntarikas* = tib. *Rnal-hbyor-spyod-pa* hi *Dbu-maraṅ-rgyud-pa*, the founder of which is Śāntirakṣita. The main characteristic of this school is that, in maintaining the common Mādhyamika view of the unreality of all the separate entities from the standpoint of the Absolute, it adheres to an idealistic point of view as regards the Empirical World (*samvṛti* = *kun-rdzob*), i.e. it denies the existence of eternal objects as being substantially different from the consciousness perceiving them. In this it falls in line with the Yogācāra-vijñānavādins, and this is the reason why it receives the name of Yogācāra-Mādhyamika.

present study is to give a summary exposition of the different conceptions of *śūnyatā* within the pale of Buddhism, to show the different meanings which have been attached to the term by the different Buddhist schools. Here, as in so many similar cases, the Tibetan exegetical literature, with its masterly systematization of the main subjects of Buddhist philosophy, comes to our assistance. The great Tsoṅ-kha-pa, in his *Legs-bśad-gser-phreṅ*, the celebrated commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*¹ gives us a short but very clear review of the different interpretations of *śūnyatā* adopted by the representatives of Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism. This review has been taken by us as a foundation for the present study. We have here again an occasion of ascertaining the importance of the Tibetan scientific tradition for a correct understanding of the conceptions of Indian Buddhist thought.

But before we begin our investigation in accordance with the manual of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, we must make one general remark. Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky in his "Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa" (p. 43) lays a particular stress upon the fact that the term *śūnyatā* never had the meaning of a void or of simply non-existence. *Śūnya* does not mean "void" in the sense that the object thus designated is to be viewed as Non-ens (*abhāva*); it designates the fact of being "devoid" of a certain substance, essence, or quality which is considered to be erroneously attributed to the said item. This will be correct not only with regard to the Mādhyamika point of view; it has the same meaning with all the other Buddhist schools likewise. The difference consists in (1) the character of the items which are declared to be "devoid" of a superimposed substance or quality or, to speak in the language of the Tib. manuals, "the substratum or understructure of devoidness" (*ston-gzī*) and (2) in the character of the very

¹ On the importance of this commentary see the Introduction of Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky to our edition of the *Abhisam.* in the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* p. IX, my Introduction to the transl. of the *Uttaratantra*, p. 96, and "The Doctrine of Prajñā-pāramitā" etc. p. 2 and Analysis of the *Abhisam.* p. VII.

essence, substance, or quality of which the said items are "devoid".

Tson-kha-pa [Gser, I. 30!a. 2, Labrañ edition] begins his analysis with the demonstration of the views of the Hīnayaṇists (Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas) whom he simply calls "the realists (*don-smra*=*artha-vādinah*, i.e. *bāhya-artha-vādinah*). According to them "the under-structure of devoidness" (*ston-gzi*) are the elements of existence (*dharma*), as classified into the 5 groups (*skandha*=*phuñ-po*), the 18 component elements of an individual (*dhātu*=*khams*), and the 12 bases of cognition (*āyatana*=*skye-mched*). The object of negation, i.e. that of which the said elements are regarded to be devoid, is the individual Ego (*ātman*=*bdag*) as an enduring and indivisible substance, such as the Brahmanists imagine it to be.¹ Thus the individual Ego is denied, it does not exist. But that which is devoid of this Ego does exist. There are the separate elements, classified as they are into groups, component elements and bases of cognition, or from the standpoint of the four Truths of the saint (*catvāryārya-satyāni*=*hphags pa'i bden-pa bz'i*). We have here the following quotations:

a. from the *Sūtras*:—

"Here (such items as) an Ego and a living being (as a unity) do not exist. There are the (separate) elements, which appear obeying the causal laws." :—

b. from the *Bodhicitta-vivaraṇa*²:—

"The (5) groups, the (18) component elements etc. have been demonstrated in order to put an end to the conception of a (real) Ego."—

c. from Asanga's *Abhidharma-samuccaya*,³ this is beyond doubt the most pregnant :—

"It is asked): How are we to explain the term *śūnya*—"devoid"? (Answer):—If with a certain item something does

1 *Mu-stegs-byed-kyis kun-brtags-pahi rtag-pa dan gcig-puḥi gañ-sag-gi bdag*=*tīrthakāraih pariḥalpito nitya ekaś ca pudgalasya ātmā*.

2 Tanyur, Rgyud (Tantra) vol. XXXIII.

3 Aga Monastery (Transbaikalian) edition, fol. 44a. 4-b. 1.

not exist, the said item is cognized as being "devoid" of this something. On the contrary that which remains existing with the said item is to be cognized as always existing with it.¹ Now what is it that does not exist? (Answer):—With (the elements as classified into the (5) groups, the (18) component elements and the (12) bases of cognition an eternal persistent indestructible substratum, an Ego or something relating to such does not exist.—What is there in such a case that remains existing? (Answer):—The Ego as has just been said, does not exist, but that which is devoid of the Ego (i.e. the separate elements), they do exist. In such a sense we have to understand the meaning of *śūnyatā* ("devoidness" as the absence or unreality of the Ego with the elements of existence). And in the *Sugatamatavibhaṅga* of *Jetāri* the point of view of the realists is put forth as follows:—

All the conditioned (*samskṛta*) elements are momentary. They are devoid of the Ego and have no creator.—In the Mahāyāna this aspect of *śūnyatā* is usually designated as *pudgala-nairātmya*, the unreality of the individual Ego; it is a common tenet of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus the individual Ego is regarded as "void by itself" (*rañ-ston*), i.e. non-existing. The separate elements as classified into the 5 groups etc., on the contrary, are not "void by themselves"; they have a real existence, but they are devoid of a substance other than themselves, viz. of the individual Ego.²

On the different points of view of the Hinayānists regarding the individual (*pudgala*=*gañ-zag*), we have here a quotation from *Bhāva-viveka*'s *Tarkajvālā*³:—Of these (i.e. of the 18 sects), the 8 indicated first, viz. the

1 The same as in *Bodhisattva-bhūmi*, ed. Wogihara, p. 47.

यद्यत्र न भवति तत्तेन शून्यमिति समनुपपद्यति । यत्पुनरत्रावशिष्टं भवति तत्स-
दिहास्तीति यथाभूतं प्रज्ञानाति ।

2 Tg. MDO. CXXVIII.

3 *Abhis.-āloka*, GOS, p. 124. परेणात्मना शून्यरवादानात्मतः ।

4 Tg. MDO. XIX.

Mahāsaṅghikas¹ and the rest (i.e. the Vyāvahārikas, Lokottaravādins, Bahuśrutiyaś, Prajñaptivādins, Caityakas, Pūrvāśailas and Aparāśailas), as well as those indicated subsequently viz. the Sthaviras,² the Sarvāstivādins,³ the Bāhulikas,⁴ the Dharmottariyas,⁵ and the Kāśyapiyas⁶ are those who adhere to the non-Ego standpoint. According to them the Ego and the "Mine" as imagined by the heretics is "void" i.e., non-existing, and all elements are devoid of a relation to the Ego. The remaining 5 sects beginning with the Vātsīputriyas⁷ are the Pudgalavādins⁸—those who adhere to the conception of a real individual. This individual, they say, is something inexpressible, it is neither identical with the groups of elements nor is it something different from them.⁹ It is to be cognized by the 6 kinds of consciousness, it is subjected to the process of existence in the Saṃsāra, and must finally become purified. Here ends the part dedicated to the Hinayānists. It is followed by the investigation of the Mahāyānists' conceptions of *śūnyatā*. Tson-kha-pa begins with the theory of the Yogācāra-Vijñānavādins [Cser. I. 302a. 1.]. The school as we know maintains that the source of all life represents a stream of consciousness which, though real in itself, constructs an unreal objective eternal world (*abhūta-parikālpa* = *yañ-dag-ma-yin kun-rtog*).¹⁰ All the elements of existence in their crude form, in their unutterable (*anabhilāpya* = *brjod-du-med-pa*) nature, are the component parts of this stream; they are the moments of consciousness, the mind and its phenomena, obeying the causal laws.¹¹ As such they represent the causally dependent aspect of existence (*para-*

• 1 *Dge-ḥdun-phal-chen-pa*.

2 *Gnas-brtan-pa*.

3 *Thams-cad-yod-par-smra-ba*.

4 *Mañ-ston-pa*.

5 *Chos-mchog-pa*.

6 *Hod-srun-pa*.

7 *Gnas-ma-bu*.

8 *Gaṇ-zag-tu-smra-ba*.

9 Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa, p. 31, note 1.

10 *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga*, I. 1.

11 Cf. *Sthiramati ad Madhyānta-vibhaṅga*, p. 12.

अतीतानागतवर्तमाना हेतुफलः सादृश्यकारः...संसारानुरूपान्निवृत्तैतसिका निर्विशेषेणाभूतपरिकल्पः ।

tantra-lakṣaṇa).¹ Now, although there is no real differentiation of subject and object (*grāhya-grāhaka*)² in them, our constructive thought makes this differentiation,³ it ascribes to the said elements an objective existence and nominally and conventionally attributes to them certain essences, qualities etc. etc., all of which do not inhere in the elements as things in themselves.⁴ Everything thus attributed to the elements by our constructive thought forms the "imputed," the "constructed" or the "superimposed" aspect of existence (*parikalpita-lakṣaṇa*).⁵ Now, being cut short of all these constructions of the mind, the elements of existence appear in their true, pure, and undifferentiated nature, as forming one whole and as merged for ever in Nirvāṇa. This is the Absolute aspect (*pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*).⁶

The Yogācāra conception of *śūnyatā* is most closely connected with this theory of the 3 aspects of existence. The causally dependent aspect (*paratantra-lakṣaṇa*), or the elements of existence in their crude form as modifications of the stream of consciousness represent "the substratum of negation" (*dgag-gzī*), i.e. that which is characterized as "devoid" of a certain essence or quality. Now, of what is it "devoid", in other words, what is the item negated?—It is that part which forms an attribution of constructive thought,—all the objective essences etc., which are ascribed to things, the subject-and-object relation, the separate essences of the elements and the idea of the individual Ego. In short, it is the constructed or superimposed aspect (*parikalpita-lakṣaṇa*). It is not contained in the true nature of the causally dependent elements of existence; the latter are therefore characterized as "devoid" (*śūnya*) of it. This total absence of the superimposed in the causally dependent represents the

1 *gzan dbaṅ-gi mtshan-ñid* (*gzan-dbaṅ*).

2 Madh.-vibh. I. 2.

3 Sthir. ad. Madh.-vibh., p. 12. अभूतमस्मिन् द्वयं परिकल्प्यतेऽनेन ।

4 Cf. "Doctrine of Pr.-pār." p. 94.

5 *Kun-tu-brtags-paḥi mtshan-ñid* (*kun-brtags*).

6 *Yōṅs-su-grul-paḥi mtshan-ñid* (*yōṅs-grub*).

“essence of devoidness” (*śūnyatā*); it is the negation of all imputed separate reality, of the elements and of the individual, and this, as we know, is the Absolute Aspect (*pariṇiṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*). Or, as Tsoṅ-kha-pa has it, “the part of the causally dependent aspect which is from the outset devoid of the superimposed, represents the Absolute aspect.”¹ It is therefore clear why *śūnyatā* appears as a synonym of “the Absolute Truth” (*paramārtha*), etc.²

Thus the imputed aspect (*parikalpita*) appears as devoid of a real essence of its own or of the character of a thing in itself, for which reason it is called “the essential unreality” (*lakṣaṇa-niḥsvabhāvatā*).³ The causally dependent and the Absolute aspects are “devoid” of the superimposed, but they are by no means void in themselves, i.e. non-existing. They have both an ultimate reality.⁴ Here Tsoṅ-kha-pa quotes *Ra t n ā k a r a ś ā n t i* (“śānti-pa”, without naming the text quoted which is the *Citta-mātra-alaṃkāra*).⁵ It is said there as follows:—(The elements of existence) do not represent real entities from the standpoint of their constructed or superimposed nature. On the contrary, as regards their causally dependent and their absolute nature, they do not represent a non-ens (i.e. they are ultimately real).⁶ In such a way the two extremities (of Realism and Nihilism) are shunned.⁷—It is moreover said:—As regards blue colour and the like, there will be an incongruity (if the said items are

1 *gzan-dbañ kun-brtags-kyis gdod-ma-nas stoñ-paḥi cha yoñs-grub-tu ḥdod-de*. Follows a quotation from *Triṃśikā*, Kār. 21—

निष्पन्नस्तस्य पूर्वेण (=परिकल्पितेन सदा रहितता तु या ॥

2 Cf. *M.-vibh.*, I. 15

तथता भूतकीटिश्रानिमित्तः परमार्थकः । धर्मघातुश्च पर्यायाः शून्यतायाः

3 Cf. “Doctrine of *Pr.-pār.*”, p. 93.

4 *Sthir. ad M.-vibh.*, p. 12. यत्पुनरिहावशिष्टं तत्सत् । किं पुनरिहावशिष्टं । अभूतपरिकल्पः शून्यता च । (शून्यता=परिनिष्पन्नं)

5 Tg. *MDO.*, LXI.

6 *Sthir. ad M.-vibh.*, p. 12.

यत्पुनरिहावशिष्टं तत्सत् । किं पुनरिहावशिष्टं । अभूतपरिकल्पः शून्यता च ।

7 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

viewed as external objects), but not in the case when we take them as (modifications of) pure consciousness.¹—In such a from the existence of the aspect of blue colour etc., 'as an external object, i.e. of the imputed part' is denied.³ But as regards that part which represents pure consciousness, it is shown that its reality, if admitted, does not contradict any of the methods of logical proof.⁴

In short, according to this system, the special point of negation, that of *which* the elements are "devoid" (*śūnya*) is their separate objective essence.⁵ This is considered to be the imputed aspect exclusively. As regards the two other aspects, there is not one text belonging to Asaṅga or Vasubandhu⁶ in which they were demonstrated as "void" i.e. non-existing by themselves. The same point of view is expressed in Diñnāga's *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-piṇḍārtha*⁷ and in the *Śuddhimatī*, and the *Sārottamā* of Ratnākaraśānti.⁸

Next we have a quotation from the commentary on the *Madhyānta-vibhāṅga*⁹:—The unreality of the Individual and of the separate elements is *sūnyatā*, (i.e. the fact that all the elements of existence are "devoid" of a real Ego as well as of all the separate essences and properties that are ascribed

1 *nam-pa dan-bral-baḥi śes-paḥi gsal-cha.*

2 Sthir. ad. M.-vibh., p. 19. अर्थ परिकल्पितस्वभावः

3 cf. Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, vol. I. p. 530.

4 The following passages of the *Caśr.* contain a long controversy with the *Mādhyamikas* about the "middle way" (*madhyamā pratipad*).

5 *chos-bdag = dharma-ātman.*

6 *Thogs-med sku-mched.*

7 Tg. MDO. XIV.

8 Both the *Śuddhimatī* and the *Sārottamā* are commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, written from the point of view of the *Yogācāra* system. The first of these works (Tib. transl. Tg. MDO. IX.) comments on the *Abhis.* in connection with the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, and the second (Tg. MDO. X.) in connection with the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. Cf. my *Doctrine of Pr.-pār.*, *Acta Orientalia*, vol. XI pp. 9 and 10.

9 Ad. I. 21 पुद्गलचर्माभावः शून्यता तस्याभावस्य सद्भावस्य सद्भावोऽपि शून्यता ।

to them by our constructive thought). The real background of this unreality, the undifferentiated monistic essence is likewise called *śūnyatā*, in the sense of the true essence of the elements separated from all that which represents a construction of the mind.—Thus the two kinds of imputed reality,¹ viz. that of the individual and of the separate elements form the object of negation, that of which the elements in their true nature, are "devoid." The elements of existence in their causally dependent aspect (*paratantra-lakṣaṇa*) i.e. the component parts of the stream of consciousness are the true foundation of existence—they are the substratum on whose basis the attribution of the superimposed (*parikalpita*) essences and qualities is made; at the same time, as moments of consciousness, they are the agents, which bring about the superimposition, inasmuch as the habit of objectivizing forms a property of the stream of consciousness to which they belong. And finally they represent the substratum from which the true absolute aspect (*pariniṣpanna-lakṣaṇa*) is conjectured².—Conditioned (*samskṛta*=*ḥdus-byas*) and unconditioned (*asamskṛta*=*ḥdus-ma-byas*) existence are thus both included here, as we have it clearly expressed in the commentary on *Madhyānta-vibhaṅga*. I. 3 (p. 13). The objectivizing consciousness (*abhūta-parikalpa*), i.e. the causally dependent aspect (*paratantra-lakṣaṇa*) *par excellence*, (as such without any abstraction made) represents the principle of conditioned existence, since it comes into being on the foundation of causes and conditions⁴. It is "devoid" of the imputed part, of the subject-and-object relation, but in itself it is not "void" it is a reality.⁵

1 Or, as Tsoṅ-kha-pa has it, "the two kinds of Ego" (*bdaḡ-gñis*).

2 Sic. acc. to the *Legs bśad-sñin-po* of Tsoṅ-kha-pa, Tsañ. Edition 19b. 5—*yonś-grub-kyi-chos-can dan kun-brtags kyi ḥdogs-pa-po dan gdags gzi*. Cf. also *Sthiramati ad M.-vibhaṅga*, p. 14.

शून्यतायामभूतपरिकल्पो धर्मिरूपेण विद्यते ।

3 न शून्यं नापि चाशून्यम् etc.

4 *Ibid.* हेतुप्रत्ययप्रतिबद्धात्यलाभत्वादभूतपरिकल्पः संस्कृतम् ।

5 *Ibid.* अभूतपरिकल्पात्मकं संस्कृतं न शून्यम् ।

a real substratum including the Absolute Essence.¹ The latter is in itself likewise an ultimate reality.

Such is the main Yogācāra theory as it appears in its correct form. Tsoñ-kha-pa warns us against misconceptions, against the views according to which the unconditioned absolute aspect only represents the ultimate reality, cut short of every conditioned existence, to speak otherwise, the views which make of the absolute aspect the understructure of negation and declare it to be "devoid" of both the superimposed and the causally dependent aspect thus denying the ultimate reality of the latter.² In the three Yogācāra treatises of Maitreya³ and in the works of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu such an interpretation is nowhere to be found.⁴

The third and last part [Gser. I 304b. 6—305b. 1.] refers to the Mādhyamika conception of *śūnyatā* or, as Tsoñ-kha-pa has it, "the teaching of the negators of (independent) reality" (*dnos-po-med-par-smra-ba*).

It begins with the very pregnant statement that *śūnyatā*, according to the Mādhyamika point of view, is not that incomplete (*prādeśika* = *ñi-tshe-ba*) "devoidness" which consists in the negation of some items (parts), implying the affirmation of others as:—the negation of the conditioned, implying the affirmation of the unconditioned, the negation of Ens implying the affirmation of Non-ens etc.⁴ Such an incomplete *śūnyatā* does not pass beyond the categories of

1 *Ibid.*, p. 14. एवमसंस्कृतमपि धर्मतातुरूपेण न शून्यम् and Kār I 2. शून्यता विद्यते त्वत्र ।

2 The adherents to these views are the representatives of the Yō-n-a-n-pa sect with whom Tsoñ-kha-pa always polemises.

3 The Sūtrālaṅkāra, Madhyānta-vibhāṅga, and Dharma-dharmatā-vibhāṅga.

4 There are however texts composed by Indian Paṇḍita in which the said views find their expression. These are the commentaries on the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā* and the three Pr.-pār-sūtras ascribed to the Kashmirian Daṇḍaśrāsena (Tg. MDO. XIV) and in the *Āmnāya-anusāriṇī*, a commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. (Tg. MDO. XV). The part of Tsoñ-kha-pa's analysis dedicated to the Yogācāra conception of *śūnyatā* ends with an investigation of some passages from these texts.

affirmation and negation (*vidhipratiṣedha*) or of that which is to be accepted or rejected (*heya-upādeya*). In this incomplete form we had it in Hinayāna where the negation of the Ego is contrasted with the affirmation of the reality of the separate elements, and with the Yogācāras, according to whom there is on one side the negation of the superimposed aspect, and on the other the affirmation of the causally dependent (real in itself) and of the Absolute (the ultimate Highest Truth). This according to the Mādhyamikas is an eclectic point of view; some items are negated, others affirmed. There is thus a variety of concepts and no unique principle that could be applied to everything cognizable without any limitations. On the contrary, *śūnyatā* in the Mādhyanika interpretation is regarded as such a principle, "it transcends the limits of affirmation and negation," of that which is to be rejected and its reverse. This means that it leaves no room for a pluralistic conception, the differentiation of something ultimately real and ultimately unreal. Similar to an illusion, the elements of existence appear to the mind which, possessed of error, is satisfied in taking them, as they present themselves to it, without investigating any of them, as regards its true nature.¹ But from the standpoint of ultimate reality, they are all without exception "devoid" (*śūnya*) of an essence of their own, this principle being consequently applied to all entities, including the Highest Truth, the Buddha, etc. Now how is this to be understood? Haribhadra, in his *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-āloka*² gives us the explanation:—"They (the elements of existence) have no ultimate separate essence, because they are mutually dependent" (*paraspara-apেকṣa*). This passage clearly shows what the 'devoidness' of something of an essence of its own really signifies. It is dependent existence, the fact that a thing can be identified only by

1 This is called *avicāra-ramaṇīyatvam*.

2 Cf. my "Study of the Twenty Aspects of Śūnyatā," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IX, pp. 181 and 182.

its relation to something else, i.e. relativity. The full importance of this conception of *śūnyatā* becomes clear in connection with the theory of Dependent Origination (*pratītya-samutpāda* = *rten-ciñ-ḥbrel-par-ḥbyuñ-ba*) in its Mādhyamika interpretation. The Mādhyamikas say:—All elements of existence are devoid of an essence of their own, on account of their dependent origination, their dependence on causes and conditions.—But, as we know from the *Mūla-mādhyamika*, an actual origination, a production of certain effects by their causes cannot be admitted.¹ There is really no origination, there is only relation or co-ordination, the existence of entities in dependence upon others, in other words—Relativity. *Śūnyatā*,—says Nāgārjuna in his *Loṇātita-stava*, means for thee, O Buddha, the principle of Dependent Origination: More simply: *śūnyatā* means Relativity. And in order to show that just this is the sense he intends to communicate, the great Mādhyamika Master says: “There exists no independent (non-relative) entity whatsoever” (*bhāvaḥ svatantra nāsti*).

The negation of all incorrectly superimposed essence with the separate elements (*dharma-nairātmya* = *chos-kyi ḥdag-med*), says Tsoñ-kha-pa, appears in its fully accomplished form only in this (Mādhyamika) system, inasmuch as all elements without any limitation are demonstrated as being devoid of an essence of their own.—With this ends the investigation of *śūnyatā* in the *Gser-phren*.

So we have the term *śūnyatā* in its different interpretations. As it is thus a term common to all the Buddhist systems in general, we meet with the necessity of finding for it a common equivalent that would agree with all the different conceptions. To render it literally as “voidity” or “Emptiness” would imply a totally nihilistic sense which the term in reality does not possess and owing to which it has been for a long time entirely misunderstood. Now, as

¹ Cf. *Conception of Buddh. Nirvāṇa*, p. 90.—“The fact that entities are produced only in the sense of being co-ordinated.”

we have just seen, in all the three cases examined by us, *śūnyatā* appears in the sense of a negation of an incorrectly imputed essence or substance and of the ultimate truth forming the background of this negation. It seems therefore to us that it would be well-nigh hitting the point, if we were to give as a general equivalent "Non-substantiality" with an indication of the special sense applied to the term in the separate cases, in correspondence with the different systems. The meanings of *śūnyatā* would then appear in short as follows :—

In Hīnayaṇa—Non-substantiality, as the negation of the enduring, indivisible, and independent substance of the Ego or individual soul.

With the Yogācāras—Non-substantiality, as the negation of material and every other substance differing from consciousness, of every superimposed objective reality. The essence of this negation is *śūnyatā* in the sense of the Highest Truth, the Absolute aspect of existence.

With the Mādhyamikas—Non-substantiality, as the negation of the independent reality of all separate elements, of all qualities, time etc., to be understood in the sense of Relativity, this being an all-pervading principle, the Highest Truth. This is the negation of all plurality (*prapañca*), implying the idea of the universe as one great Whole, forbidding every formulation by concept or speech.¹

Thus it is that one of the most important technical terms of Buddhist philosophy is used in its different interpretations, to denote the subtlest and most developed conceptions of Indian thought.

1 Cf. "Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa," p. 43—It must be remarked here that as the principle of Relativity is applied by the Mādhyamikas consequently to everything cognizable, this Highest Truth, is itself relative (*śūnyatā-śūnyatā*), whereas the Absolute of the Yogācāras is a reality in itself; it is not *svabhāva-śūnya*.

NOTES

Ancient Indian Culture in Bali

On the 16th April, 1934, Dr. Heinrich Meinhard of the Berlin Ethnological Museum, read a paper at the invitation of the Greater India Society on "*Ancient Indian Culture in Bali.*"

The popular belief that the islands of the Malay Archipelago are inhabited by the Malay people is, said Dr. Meinhard, altogether wrong; for the Malays form five millions out of a total population of 70 millions. The Malays, however, were the first to come into contact with the Europeans, and, like Hindustani in India, the Malay language is the *lingua franca* of the whole Archipelago. The "Malays" are not autochthonous, but had their cradle perhaps in South-West China or Tibet. Some elements in the culture of the head-hunting Nagas of Assam are absolutely identical with those of the head-hunting Toradjas of the Central Celebes mountains.

The "Malay" races are commonly held to consist of two main types, namely the Indonesian and the Malay types, which are supposed to represent two successive waves of migration. This view, however, is open to doubt. The truth seems to be that every tribe or group of tribes has a characteristic of its own. The different peoples of the "Malay" race speak a common family of languages called the Indonesian, which forms a branch of the Austronesian family of languages. The Indonesian languages have different forms of speech according to persons to whom they are spoken; e. g. *Ngoko* or low-Javanese is spoken by a father to his child or by children to each other, while the child speaking to his father uses the *Krama* or high-Javanese form of speech. In speaking to a prince the *high-krama* form of speech is used.

Indonesia was in early times colonised by Indian emigrants; but at present nearly all these Indonesian nations,

with the exception of the Northern and Central Philippines, have embraced Islam. The small island of Bali to the east of Java has now become the only refuge of Indian culture in the Archipelago. Before the Dutch occupation of the island in 1906 there were nine independent principalities in Bali, and till about 1750 there was one Great King who ruled the whole island. The best and the most complete account of Balinese institutions is contained in the work of R. Friedrich, which appeared in 1849-1850. Friedrich was a pupil of the well-known German Indologist Christian Lassen and stayed in the island for three years. •

In Bali there are only four original castes, but there is no mixed caste as in India. The absence of mixed castes is due to the fact that very few high-caste men and still fewer women came from India, so that their offspring had to follow the father's caste to prevent the extinction of the noble families. The Tjendalas of Bali do not correspond to Indian Caṇḍālas, but are persons suffering from contagious diseases, specially lepers. They are not allowed to live in the village, for they stay near the frontiers of hostile states. The Balinese have special titles for members of the three upper castes, namely, *Ida* for Brāhmaṇas, *Dava* for Kṣatriyas, and *Gusti* for the Vesya (Sanskrit-Vaiśya), while the Śūdras are described as slaves or 'men.'

The *Ida* has been derived from the Sanskrit *Iddha* and *Gusti* from the Sanskrit *Goṣṭhin*. But these derivations are uncertain. There are five orders of Brāhmaṇas in Bali claiming descent from a common ancestor through his five wives. The Brāhmaṇas are either the common *Idas* who live by cultivation and other occupations, or the *Padandas* i. e., learned priests. The *Padanda* is one who has learnt the whole circle of religion and learning from his Guru and the *radja* selects his Purohita from the *Padandas* of his principality. The Purohita is the Guru of the prince who is his *Sisiya*. The Brāhmaṇa wife of a *Padanda* may learn the Vedas, perform sacrifices, and

utter *mantras*. The old Javanese Kṣatriyas have perished during many wars of the past. At present the majority of the *radjas* are not Kṣatriyas but Vesya.

Feudalism is the prevailing form of government in Bali, there being nominally one highest suzerain and the *radjas* being his feudatories (*Punggaws* i. e. Sanskrit *Pumgava*). There are few Buddhist in Bali, Buddha being regarded as the younger brother of Siwa. But the great majority of the Balinese people belong to Śaivism. The Padanda performs his domestic worship called *Suriya-Sewana* (sun-worship), the Sun being identified with Siwa. The Padanda also performs the public worship for the people.

There are six great temples in Bali dedicated to Siwa ; of these the temple of Vāsuki is the oldest and most famous. At the lesser temples which exist in every village, offerings are made to Durgā, Kālī and the Buta. Demon-worship is very popular among the common people. Besides the Butas and the Rakṣasas there are the *Rejaḥs* or the witches, who are supposed to change their shape by means of *mantra* and make themselves invisible. Siwa is the main deity and his chief consort Umā is also called Parwati and Giriputri. Brahma and Wisnu are regarded as emanations of Siwa. Other Paurāṇic gods are also known, specially the eight Lokapālas (Guardians of the quarters). The persons whose cremation has been correctly performed will go to Indraloka ; but higher than this is the Siwaloka, where the soul finds final salvation.

The lecturer concluded by saying that the Balinese institutions were to some extent the same as in India; but in other respects they went their own way.

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia: 1934

- W. F. Stutterheim—*A newly discovered pre-Nāgari inscription in Bali*. Notice (with translation and photographs) of a fragmentary inscription in six lines written on one side of a stone-pillar in an Indian script which does not correspond to any shown in Bühler's chart. On the other side of the pillar are thirteen lines written in *Kavi* alphabet which might date from the 9th or 10th century.
- F. M. Schnitzger—*The names of the Javanese King Jayanagara*. Shows distinctive names of certain Javanese kings (of the latter part of the 12th and early part of the 13th century) to have belonged also to contemporary or earlier Hoysala, Pāṇḍya and Eastern Cālukya kings, thereby proving the close relations of Java with South India. Certain types of images from Java belonging to the same period betray the same South-Indian influence :
- Sten Konow—*Roruka and Chinese Turkestan*—Identification of Roruka in the Turkestan version of the story described by Hiuen Tsang, with Lou-lan. Language used in Kharoṣṭhī documents found at Lou-lan is North-Western Indian Prākṛit which was also used in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Traces of this Prākṛit in modern Sindhi make it probable that this Prākṛit in ancient times was also spoken at least in Northern Sind. This supports Lüders's supposition that the Indian immigrants in Eastern Turkestan partly came from Sind.

Djawa—Vol. 14, No. 1, January, 1934

- Ng. Poerbatjaraka and C. Hooykaas—**BHĀRATA-YUDDHA**. Translation with prefatory notice of a very short Old-Javanese composition written by Mpu Sedah and Mpu Panuluh about eight centuries ago. It is based on the

Sanskrit Mahābhārata and is pre-eminently the Javanese Epic. Its subject-matter is confined to the battle of Kurukṣetra.

Ibid. Vol. 14, Nos. 2 and 3, June—1934

- A. Steinmann—*Een Oud-Javaansche kris met Voor-Stellingen uit de Mintaraga*, pp. 125-126. Description of an Old-Javanese *kris* with representation of episodes of Arjuna's life engraved on its blade.

J. V. M.

The Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,
Vol. XI, part II. (December, 1933)

- H. Overbeck—*Hikayat Maharaja Ravana*, pp. 111-132. Two important contributions have recently been made to the study of the Rāma saga in Indonesia (*Hikayat Sōri Rama*) namely, *Rama-Legenden und Rama Reliefs in Indonesien* (Vol I, Text ; Vol. II, Plates) by Dr. W. Stutterheim (Munich, 1925,) and *Die Rama-sage bei der Malaien, ihre Herkunft und Gestaltung* (Publication of the Hamburg University) by Dr. A. Zieseniss, (Hamburg, 1928). The present work, however, which has been preserved in Ms. in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, has hitherto escaped notice. A complete summary of this work follows.

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde, 1934, Deel
LXXIV, Aflevering 1.

- W. F. Stutterheim—*Beschreven Lingga van Krapjak*—pp 85-93. Description of a Linga with four lines of writing mentioning how a field was made by its donor a free region for his mausoleum.
- K. C. Crucq—*Eenige opmerkingen over de figuren staande boven de teekens van den dierenriem op de prasens (Zodiakbekers)* pp 94-100. The author attempts to explain some Zodiacal figures.

Steinmann—*De dieren op de bas-reliefs van de Boroboedoer*—pp. 101-122. A critical analysis of animal figures found in the bas-reliefs of Borobudur.

Verhandelingen van het koninkrijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Deel LXXII, Aflevering 2, 1933

Th. Pigeaud—*Serat Cabolang and the Serat Centini*. Edition with translation of the above. Introduction of Serat Cabolang mentions Carik Sutasna, a Crown-Prince of Surakarta as the author. The varied style and literary value of these works support the tradition that they were written by various authors. The stories betray Hindu as well as Muhammadan influences.

H. B. S.

